



Daily Report

East Europe

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GDR's UN Envoy on 'Positive Balance Sheet'
*LD131450 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0652 GMT 13 Dec 87*

[Excerpt] U.N./New York, 13 Dec (ADN)—The 42d UN General Assembly was closing its main session with an extraordinarily positive balance sheet, Ambassador Harry Ott, head of the GDR's permanent mission to the United Nations, said in an interview with ADN'S U.N. correspondent. In the area of disarmament and security, decisions concerning mankind's vital issues had been taken, such as the prevention of a nuclear war and the exclusively peaceful use of space, a ban on chemical weapons, conventional disarmament, and the development and deepening of dialogue, understanding, and cooperation between the states and peoples.

For the first time in the history of the UN, the GDR representative emphasized, a General Assembly was able to look at the possibility of embarking on nuclear disarmament. This is a change toward real and concrete disarmament measures.

Harry Ott pointed out that the Warsaw Pact member states had once again submitted their joint initiative for the creation of a comprehensive system of world peace and international security. "The relevant resolution received the consent and support of a large majority of the states. This concept of comprehensive security is based on the awareness that, in the nuclear-space age, peace and security can be guaranteed only jointly, together, through the just balancing of various interests." Now, after 1 year of open and democratic discussion, as well as some sharp arguments, this idea has taken on a clear outline. This includes, firstly, the creation of a nuclear-free world, the banning of force and hatred, fear and suspicion from international relations.

One main direction of the concept of comprehensive security was the solving of world economic problems, the creation of a new international economic order. True security was inconceivable without guarantees for the preservation of mankind's most valuable possession—life. The initiators of the concept are striving to safeguard all the rights and freedoms of man in their unity and totality. A further important pillar of comprehensive security was the protection of the environment, the common solution to ecological problems and other issues of global import.

A concept of such strategic dimension and scope, Ambassador Ott underlined, could not be realized in a day, or even from one General Assembly to the next. It could come about only gradually, as a result of a broad and patient dialogue, and while taking into account the various interests. The traditional positions and open resistance of a number of Western states had prevented a consensus on this issue.

The permanent UN representative of the GDR also said that the 42d General Assembly had proceeded in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. For this, the GDR, too, had created essential preconditions with her active and dynamic foreign policy, especially Erich Honnecker's international work for understanding and cooperation. "The official visit by our head of state to the FRG drew great attention in the UN. Representatives of many states have praised this visit and its results as an example of active dialogue and a concrete contribution to the improvement of the international atmosphere," he said. For the GDR delegation, the 42d UN General Assembly had been linked to their special obligation to make a direct contribution to the successful course and positive results with active and constructive work. The unanimous election of Peter Florin as United Nations General Assembly president was generally seen as a recognition of the role of the GDR in the UN, as an appreciation of the achievements and the international status of the GDR. [passage omitted]

CSSR's Kapek Addresses City Leaders' Meeting
*LD121843 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1600 GMT 12 Dec 87*

[Text] A meeting of city party committee first secretaries of the capital cities of six socialist countries devoted to exchanging experiences from party work began in Warsaw today. Antonin Kapek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chief secretary of the Prague City Party organization, expressed, in the opening part of his speech on behalf of Prague communists and working people of the capital, great satisfaction over the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles.

He praised the development of mutual relations with the capital cities of the socialist countries and said that interest in establishing direct contact was growing in connection with the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Comrade Antonin Kapek also stressed that it is economic issues that are at the forefront of attention of the Prague City party organization. Its work, nonetheless, is also focused on the working and living conditions of workers, and on technical and technological modernization of industrial plants in Prague, which is to bring a new quality of production, matching top world standards.

CSSR Envoy Addresses Vienna CSCE Meeting
LD041504 Prague CTK in English
1337 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Vienna Dec 4 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Ambassador Frantisek Dolezel spoke here today of Czechoslovak measures to ease international contacts between people and promote tourism.

Addressing the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) follow-up meeting, he explained measures of the Czechoslovak authorities which ease the transit of foreign tourists through Czechoslovakia, and spoke of the conclusions of talks between Czechoslovak and Austrian experts which will ease travels between the

two countries, as well as of the results of the talks of the mixed Czechoslovak-U.S. commission for humanitarian questions which dealt mainly with reuniting families.

Frantisek Dolezel pointed to measures which are to facilitate Czechoslovak citizens' travels abroad. He voiced the hope that in the spirit of the CSCE process the signatory countries will take similar measures.

Evaluating the work of the CSCE follow-up meeting, Frantisek Dolezel said that proposals showing feasible ways to overcome obstacles are emerging at the talks, and condemned stands which do not take into consideration European realities. Despite manoeuvring and various attempts at pressure, some modest but hopeful results have been reached recently, he added.

Aims of Superpower Summit 'Nothing New'
AU141425 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
9 Dec 87 p 4

[ATA report: "Gorbachev Arrives in the United States for an Official Visit"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] News agencies have reported the following statement made at a meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev: "History has entrusted to the governments of our two countries, to you and to me, the noble task of justifying the hopes of the peoples of the whole world that the concept of the arms race will be destroyed." In this context it was stressed: "The further evolution of the world will depend on the road we choose." Such demagogic statements and the aims underlying them are nothing new for the European peoples and the peoples of the world in general. The recently signed treaty does not in the least mean that peace has been secured and the risk of war averted for the continent of Europe. According to the American Arms Control Agency, even the nuclear warheads and the control systems of the missiles to be withdrawn on the basis of this treaty "may be used for other weapon systems not covered by the treaty." In comment, the West German paper FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU writes: "Only dreamers among the majority of the supporters of the Soviet-American Euromissile agreement are of the opinion that mankind has thereby crossed the threshold of a paradise of peace."

Paper Views Party Role in Army Discipline
AU141706 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
9 Dec 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Creative Party Work Increases and Strengthens Discipline and Vigilance"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Among the noble qualities distinguishing the members of our defense forces are discipline and vigilance. Comrade Ramiz Alia, the general commander of our Armed Forces, has stressed that these qualities are vital for the Army in its great mission of defending the freedom of the homeland and the victories of the revolution. The party teaches us that there can be no victory without conscience and iron discipline. But discipline does not come by itself. The party has always insisted that arrogance and haughtiness are and must be alien to our soldiers. But discipline is frequently violated, and signs of liberalism are allowed to creep in, under the excuse "he is arrogant; he is haughty." It is the party's creative work that implants a sense of the need for discipline, for daily struggle against signs of liberalism on exercises, and for attention to every order and instruction. [passage omitted]

When we discuss order, discipline, and lofty vigilance at every level in the Army, the party instructs us that these qualities should be maximized and made exemplary in every sphere of a soldier's life and activity. Why do we mention this? In some units, violations of discipline have even produced unpleasant incidents. But why has this happened? Because there has been a lack of care and strictness in enforcing regulations, orders, and instructions, and because some officers have not considered discipline together with technical regulations. In this area too, the work of party base organizations and communists in units must be more sophisticated, vigorous, and creative. [passage omitted]

Deputy Defense Minister Praises INF Treaty

AU111345 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in
Bulgarian
10 Dec 87 pp 1,6

[Article by Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense: "Triumph of Common Sense and Peace"]

[Text] An act of historic importance—this is how the world evaluated the INF Treaty signed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. The accord seeks the destruction of Soviet and American missiles in Europe with a range of 500 to 5,000 km, and of their nuclear charges. This description is perfectly correct. It is explained, in the first place, by the tremendous political significance of this act. The first real step toward disarmament has been taken. The initial stage in halting the arms race, which constantly increases the danger of nuclear disaster, was marked. The signing of the INF Treaty represents a great victory of common sense and a brilliant manifestation of the new political thinking. This act was welcomed with satisfaction by all sensible people on the planet.

An important prerequisite for the signing of the INF Treaty on the elimination of two classes of means of nuclear attack is represented by the military balance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states. This parity was achieved through the tremendous efforts of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact member states.

The military balance in the world is determined by a relatively equal quantity and quality of armed forces and means of armed struggle belonging to the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states. The chief factor of this balance is the strategic parity between the two sides in offensive nuclear weapons, as well as other basic means of waging war.

Due to the historically determined differences in the structure and the development of the armed forces and means of nuclear attack belonging to the two opposing sides, the military balance and strategic parity do not have a mirror effect. A certain, definite lack of symmetry exists, but despite this, the general balance of forces is approximately equal.

Every attempt of the Western states to disrupt strategic parity met serious resistance from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact member states. Thus, for example, in 1979 the United States and NATO decided to deploy [figure illegible] medium-range missiles in Europe. Their goal was to take advantage of their proximity to the Soviet Union in the event of war and to inflict a sudden, disarming strike against Soviet nuclear offensive weapons, so as to eliminate them and achieve nuclear superiority. In reaction to this, the Soviet Union brought forward a certain number of operational-tactical missiles to GDR and CSSR territory. The USSR also instituted

permanent patrols by nuclear submarines carrying missiles near the shores of the United States in order to thwart this attempt to disrupt the strategic parity. As a result, the leaders of the Western, imperialist states became increasingly convinced of the impossibility of achieving nuclear superiority and of relying on success in an eventual nuclear war.

On the other hand, an extensive, peaceful offensive of the socialist states, their active and consistent policy for restricting the arms race, promoting disarmament, and building a collective security system, evoked a wide response throughout the world and inspired millions to participate in the struggle for peace. The role played by the Reykjavik summit was of particular importance in this context. At this meeting Mikhail Gorbachev submitted a whole package of constructive, peaceful proposals, and the same applies to the uniform military doctrine adopted at the Berlin conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. That doctrine is distinguished by its clearly defensive character. The destruction of two classes of means of nuclear attack with approximately 2,000 nuclear charges has a certain military significance, besides its great political importance. It will not result in a disruption of the balance of forces and will not eliminate the military antagonism between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The nuclear warheads which, on the basis of the INF Treaty are subject to destruction, represent only 3 percent of the total stockpile of strategic nuclear weapons on both sides. Despite this, the antagonism between the sides will exist with a slightly lower level of armaments, which surely represents a certain progress.

In addition to this, the treaty will contribute to a further step along the path of disarmament—namely the 50 percent reduction of strategic nuclear arms. Under the influence of these factors, more favorable conditions will be created for greater accuracy in determining the mandate and goals of the negotiations conducted on the limitation of general purpose forces.

These negotiations will be of great importance for the further, decisive lowering of the military balance between the two sides and the alleviation of tension in the world. They will also be significant in the creation of prerequisites for a speedier and more extensive solution of the socioeconomic development problems of our countries, and for environmental protection and the elimination of starvation and poverty throughout the world.

Strategic parity will not be disrupted by the elimination of medium-range missiles. It is true that, according to the treaty, the Soviet Union will have to destroy more missiles and several times more nuclear charges than the United States, but this will not result in nuclear superiority for the West. On the other hand, the destruction of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe, which can reach targets on USSR territory as far as the Urals and are intended for a devastating strike at the greatest speed

(from 5 to 8 minutes), averts the danger of such a strike and thus eliminates one of the most destabilizing factors in Europe. As a result of all this, there is no reason to believe that one of the sides is at a disadvantage in this respect. This is all to the advantage of common sense and world peace.

It would be naive to believe, however, that in eliminating medium-range missiles, the most reactionary circles of the United States and NATO will renounce their quest for military superiority. Their reaction of overt indignation to the signing of the INF Treaty and their threats to prevent its ratification, eloquently confirm the fact that they will not resign themselves to it and will do everything within their power to pursue the arms race and the struggle for military superiority.

The recent session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Commission discussed the question of eliminating the vacuum likely to appear in Europe as a result of the destruction of U.S. medium-range missiles. The participants said this could be accomplished by transferring new formations of F-111 and F-16 aircraft, deploying cruise missiles on ships patrolling near the western shores of Europe, as well as by extending the firing range of tactical missiles.

We should not exclude the possibility that reactionary circles in the United States will try to deviate from their obligations under the treaty and create difficulties for the control organizations of the Soviet side.

The conscientious implementation of the treaty clauses and measures stipulated for control, the maintenance of great vigilance, as well as the further expansion of the struggle for peace and disarmament, will help to abort such attempts and to achieve new victories in strengthening peace.

Paper Terms Accord 'Triumph'

*AU142055 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in
Bulgarian
13 Dec 87 p 1*

[Editorial: "Victory of Common Sense and Realism"]

[Text] Our times have turned people into participants in many events of fateful importance for mankind. History will assess the Washington summit, which gave the world the first treaty on eliminating nuclear weapons, as one of the most important of those events. The first step was made toward eliminating the nuclear threat, which hangs like the sword of Damocles over life on the planet.

For 3 consecutive days, people held their breath and hungrily awaited the news from the U.S. capital. They actively supported the forces of peace and international understanding. The most noted public figures, leaders of governments, parties, and social and political movements, scientists, writers, and simple workers greeted the peaceful agreements between the USSR and the United

States, and viewed these accords as the implementation of their ancient hope. Having decided to reduce their nuclear arsenals by 3 percent, the two states with most powerful economic and military sectors fulfilled a great obligation to humanity and future generations. Indeed, they demonstrated how the world's problems could be solved if good will existed. Three percent is a very small part of the existing bombs which bring nuclear death; however, this percentage represents a great contribution to increasing confidence and creating a turning point in international relations on the basis of the new political thinking. This beginning will probably produce a chain reaction. Soon the forces of peace will congratulate themselves on the achievement of new and even more impressive results.

During the Soviet delegation's visit to Washington, the American people and all people on earth convinced themselves that the USSR sincerely desires peace, and that protecting peace had become the USSR's state policy. This was proven by the numerous peaceful proposals made by the USSR in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and the United Nations, and in many statements and speeches of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He also recalled some of these proposals during his meetings with the U.S. President, the businessmen, and at his major news conference with representatives of the world press. These are directly related to further reducing and limiting nuclear and chemical weapons, as well as conventional weapons. It is mankind's goal to greet the year 2000 with greater confidence in the peaceful future. The proposals enabled the American people to see the USSR and the other socialist countries in a different way. This was shown by the first polls conducted by authoritative institutes in the United States.

What was accomplished in Washington represents a victory of political realism, as Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, said. This accomplishment has yet to positively influence relations between states with different social systems. However, it was achieved as a result of the combined efforts of the socialist countries which, in the last 3 years, proposed an entire package of proposals, aimed at improving the world's political climate. This was also pointed out at the Berlin meeting of the leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states. They all agreed with the opinion expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev, that "the success in the U.S. capital would have been impossible had the socialist countries not acted in a coordinated and united manner, and if they had not conducted an insistent and consistent struggle for disarmament."

The People's Republic of Bulgaria also made its contribution to the common cause. Its proposals to turn the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons are well known. These proposals were warmly greeted not only by most of the Balkan countries, but by other states as well. As sincere and active fighters for

peace, our people warmly greet the the USSR-U.S. agreements and expect that after signing the INF Treaty a second step toward a nuclear-free world will be taken.

The international political climate, burdened by the difficult heritage of wars, confrontations, and hostilities, is visibly changing for the better. The revival of certain militaristic ideas and attempts at confrontation and polarization appear pathetic against this background. They cannot meet with success because what has been accomplished in Geneva, Reykjavik, and Washington is a sufficient guarantee of the continuation of the coming together between East and West. This achievement also seeks the triumph of policy which has a single main goal: to save human life in our common home, the planet earth!

Politburo Approves Results of Berlin Meeting

*AU141956 Sofia BTA in English
1855 GMT 14 Dec 87*

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC of the BCP was briefed on the meeting of the secretaries general of the CC of the fraternal parties of the Warsaw Treaty member states, which was held on December 11, 1987 in Berlin, and on the participation of the Bulgarian delegation headed by Mr Todor Zhivkov.

The Politburo completely agrees with the assessment of the meeting on the results of the talks in Washington as a historical step which has favorable effect on the international situation. The Bulgarian Communists, the entire Bulgarian people are sure that the unflinching efforts and the innovative approaches of the Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy have played decisive role in the achievement of the agreements for the elimination of the two classes of nuclear weapons. A direct, practical result has been achieved by the new political thinking which inspires the common peaceful course of the USSR, Bulgaria and the other socialist countries members of the Warsaw Treaty.

The agreements are a result of the realism displayed by the two great states and of their will to achieve a reasonable compromise in the solution of the most important problem: preservation of life on the planet. This gives hopes that mankind can start on the road toward a secure world without nuclear weapons.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP fully supports the conclusion that has been drawn at the meeting, that what has been achieved can turn out to be the beginning of a far reaching process of nuclear disarmament. A key stage in this process would be the conclusion of an agreement for a 50 per cent reduction of the strategic offensive arms of the two superpowers under strict adherence to the IBM Treaty. That would mark a radical breakthrough toward the establishment of a world free of violence and mass destruction weapons.

Together with the other fraternal states Bulgaria is ready to give her contribution to the achievement of this noble aim in all directions leading toward curbing of arms race: ban and liquidation of chemical weapons, halting of nuclear weapon tests, reduction of armaments and armies from the Atlantic to Ural, establishing of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons, building of a comprehensive system for peace and international security. This policy of Bulgaria is completely in unison with the general line of the fraternal states declared in Berlin: close cooperation with all peace-loving forces which stand for preservation and strengthening of peace, aiming to completely exclude war from the life of mankind.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP views the results of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the U.S. as an international event of special importance, as a remarkable victory of realism and sound reason on the cardinal problem of international relations—the problem of peace and war. The Politburo of the CC of the BCP approves the work of the Bulgarian delegation which took active part in the Berlin meeting, in the analysis of the present crucial moment on the international arena.

Trade Cooperation Protocol With SRV Signed

*AU141938 Sofia BTA in English
1849 GMT 14 Dec 87*

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—Next year the trade between Bulgaria and Vietnam will include Bulgarian deliveries of industrial goods and import from Vietnam mainly of raw materials such as rubber, coffee, tea, jute and spices. The trade between the two countries will grow by almost 6 per cent in comparison to 1987.

Mr Marin Marinov, deputy minister of trade of Bulgaria, and Mr Ta Ca, Vietnam's deputy minister of foreign trade, signed a protocol on barter and expressed satisfaction over the development of the cooperation in the production of rubber and coffee. Vietnam develops these productions with Bulgarian credits and technical assistance.

The two sides agreed to encourage the direct links between the economic organizations.

Committee Examines Strazhitsa Restoration

*AU141932 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 14 Dec 87*

[Text] A meeting of the leadership of the Committee on State and People's Control took place on 14 December. The focus again was on the results of the inspection of restoration work in Strazhitsa and Popovo.

The control groups noted certain positive changes in the organization of work and the supply of the construction brigades with manpower and materials. However, the positive changes cannot compensate for the lapses which took place during the summer months. Due to these lapses, the apartments planned for the victims of the

earthquake have not been built. The draft plans for the construction work have been provided at a slow pace. There have been cases of social injustice registered, mainly in the indemnities, insurance payments, and so forth.

The leadership of the Committee on State and People's Control again seriously warned those leaders who have not fulfilled their obligations. It was decided to place the reports of the inspection at the disposal of the Council of Ministers.

Filipov Briefs Assembly on Draft Plan, Budget
AU150938 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian
11 Dec 87 p 1,2

[Report on speech by Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, at the closing meeting of the Seventh Session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia on 10 December]

[Text] Grisha Filipov, National Assembly deputy and chairman of the Permanent Commission on Socioeconomic Development, took the floor on behalf of the committee in an additional report following the government's report on the 1988 draft plan and budget.

He pointed out that both documents, the draft plan and draft budget, reflect the innovative solutions to implement a policy aimed at qualitatively new growth in all areas of our country's life in the coming years. These solutions are of crucial and decisive importance for the implementation of the Ninth 5-Year Plan as a whole, and are linked to the initial stage in building a qualitatively new socialism in Bulgaria.

For this reason, the permanent committees believe that the decisions which the National Assembly is expected to adopt on the budget and plan will constitute an important event connected with guaranteeing the prerequisites for the practical implementation of the decisions made by the July and November plenums of the BCP Central Committee.

According to the average rates of growth of our country's national income in 1986 and 1987, Bulgaria remains a leader, not only in Europe but throughout the world. It is worth noting that the country's stable and highly dynamic development is taking place against the background of the fairly complex world economic situation of recent years and also on the basis of the existing difficulties due to climatic conditions in our country.

Thus, the strategic line we have adopted for qualitatively new growth is correct and effective, and is even beginning to produce results.

This is the first time we have submitted a plan and budget which entirely correspond to the new domestic and international realities. The chief feature of the 1988 plan and budget is the establishment of comprehensive prerequisites for total progress along the path of restructuring in all areas of our social and economic life, as required by the July and November 1987 plenums.

With the 1988 draft plan and budget we are advancing toward the implementation of a strategic leap in the technological innovation of the national economy. The plan is based totally on the further expansion of the scientific-technical revolution in our country.

The plan correctly calls for further stabilization of our currency balances and promotion of the further improvement of the country's payment capacity, as well as the competitiveness of our goods.

Comrade Filipov's additional report stressed the most characteristic feature of the plan—namely its extensive social policy portion. Particular attention is devoted to the better market supply with the most varied goods and services for the population. A substantial development is envisaged in housing construction, in education, health protection, and in the cultural area.

Necessary resources are provided for the protection and regeneration of the environment, as well. On behalf of the permanent commissions, the proposal was submitted to allocate additional, new resources for eliminating air pollution in Ruse, in particular. This problem, however, not only concerns the citizens of Ruse, but the entire population.

It would be correct to invest unlimited funds for housing construction in larger industrial centers where the housing problem is most urgent. It is necessary to apply individual and group housing construction on a large scale, and the labor collectives in each enterprise should engage in housing construction with their own efforts.

The speaker stressed that the measures concerning bread production, water supply, town development, and sanitation, the repair and improvement of health centers, along with the repair and maintenance of highways and roads should not be postponed. After the budget of municipalities has been finally determined, the Ministry of Economy and Planning should search for opportunities to fulfill the working people's requests in this field.

Comrade Grisha Filipov, at the end of his report, stressed that the draft bills submitted in connection with the 1988 draft budget and plan are in accordance with the ideas and the philosophy of the new strategic line pursued by our party. These are in conformity with the rates of development and proportions, which are at the basis of the Law on the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

INF Treaty Termed 'Major Breakthrough'

*LD150920 Prague CTK in English
0749 GMT 15 Dec 87*

[Text] Prague Dec 15 (CTK)—RUDE PRAVO today described the treaty scrapping Soviet and U.S. intermediate range nuclear missiles as a dividing line between the epoch of a growing arms race and threat of nuclear war and the epoch of the world's demilitarization.

The paper called the treaty a major breakthrough overcoming old thinking and existing stereotypes and a major result of the policy based on new thinking. The treaty will by no means weaken but strengthen the security of the Soviet Union and will also increase the security of the United States, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO and strengthen strategic stability in the world.

"The importance of the treaty is by far not exhausted by the number of missiles and warheads...to be liquidated. It is still more important that the treaty has become the beginning launching overall nuclear disarmament. It created prerequisites, and made it possible to gain experiences convincingly showing that the theory of nuclear disarmament can be translated into reality. It opened the path for agreements on radical cuts in strategic offensive weapons, with observance of the anti-ballistic missile treaty, and for agreements on the liquidation of chemical weapons and cuts in conventional weapons to become reality in the foreseeable future", the daily wrote.

The signing of the treaty scrapping two classes of nuclear weapons are joint success of the Soviet Union and the United States, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. "They reflect a new climate and new thinking in world politics and can rightly be considered a success of the whole world community", the paper wrote.

CSSR-USSR Friendship Congress Continues

Husak Receives Soviet Delegation

*LD142322 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 14 Dec 87*

[Text] In Prague Castle today, Comrade Gustav Husak received a delegation of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association Central Committee Presidium led by Zdenek Horeni, chairman of the Central Committee.

Comrade Zdenek Horeni briefed Comrade Gustav Husak on the proceedings and results of the 10th congress of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association and conveyed sincere greetings from its participants to him. He highly appreciated the help which the party Central Committee, the entire party, and Comrade Husak personally are permanently giving to the activity of the association. At the same time, Comrade Horeni assured Comrade Husak that the association will continue to contribute to the strengthening and deepening of friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet people, toward the implementation of tasks connected with the

restructuring and profound democratization of the life of society. The Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association thus wants to contribute effectively to the fulfillment of tasks adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

Comrade Gustav Husak cordially thanked Comrade Horeni for the conveyed greetings and highly appreciated the devoted and praiseworthy work done by the association in the deepening of friendship, alliance, and all-round cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. He appreciated the initiative of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association, above all this year, the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, when acquainting our working people with the life and work of Soviet people, with their effort to accelerate socioeconomic development and the restructuring of Soviet society, when explaining the historical mission of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace and social progress in the world.

The alliance and close cooperation with the Soviet Union has been and is a certainty for us on which we lean, on which we base our plans and prospects, Comrade Gustav Husak stressed. The immediate needs and tasks of Czechoslovakia's further development at the same time confirm the need to develop mutual cooperation on a qualitatively higher level. In this connection he stressed that Czechoslovak working people welcome sincerely and support the program of restructuring of Soviet society which they see as a source of inspiration for the solution of our present tasks and problems. To contribute as much as possible to an understanding of the meaning, essence, and goals of the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society which is being implemented on the initiative of and under the leadership of the CPSU—this is one of the important directions of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association.

When Comrade Husak spoke about topical tasks in the further deepening of economic cooperation and integration with the Soviet Union, he said that the association should contribute by its work to the creation of atmosphere and conditions for establishing direct relations between enterprises, the setting-up of joint enterprises and associations, to assist the development of cooperation and specialization, the faster implementation of the results of science and technology, and the improvement of efficiency and quality of production and products. It should also focus its efforts on stimulating the activity and initiative of its members at their places of work for the acceleration of economic and social development.

Last week, Comrade Husak continued, was rich in events of exceptional importance: by the signing in Washington of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of two classes of nuclear arms the first real result has been achieved in nuclear disarmament, a breakthrough of historic importance into the disarmament process. This treaty, meeting the interests of all peoples, creates a new and more favorable atmosphere in the world. This is why at the Berlin meeting on 11 December this year the highest

representatives of the Warsaw Pact member-states, including Czechoslovakia, fully supported this treaty and other peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. At the same time they expressed great appreciation and gratitude to Mikhail Gorbachev for his consistent and tireless efforts for the preservation of a peaceful future for mankind.

Peace and disarmament are also our strategic goals. Together with the Soviet Union and our allies we shall do everything. Comrade Husak stressed, for the disarmament process not to stop, for further treaties on the removal of nuclear, chemical, and other arms to follow after the Washington treaty, for the world to be rid of the danger of war. Thus, the broad explanation of efforts for the preservation and strengthening of peace and peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is still a topical and important task.

In conclusion, Comrade Husak wished members and officials of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association many successes in implementing the decisions of its 10th congress and assured them of all-round support for their activity.

In the course of a cordial and comradely conversation, members of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association Central Committee Presidium then briefed Comrade Gustav Husak on the further development of working and public activity of members of this organization, the varied work of individual branches, and on the wide response and support for the peace efforts of the Soviet Union by our citizens.

Fojtik Views Gorbachev Book, Restructuring
AU151153 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
12 Dec 87 p 7

[CTK report: "Solemn Event at an Exhibition: First Copies of M. Gorbachev's Book in Czech and Slovak Translation Presented To V. Lomakin"]

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK)—In the Julius Fucik Park of Culture and Recreation on Friday [11 December], Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR, handed over to the management of the Prague V. I. Lenin Museum a model of V. I. Lenin's study in the Kremlin that will—after the conclusion of the "Soviet Russia Today" exhibition—enrich the exhibits at the Prague museum. [passage omitted]

Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, then presented Viktor Lomakin the first copies of Mikhail Gorbachev's book "Restructuring and the New Thinking For Our Country and the Whole World" in Czech and Slovak translation, published by the Svoboda and Pravda publishing houses.

On that occasion J. Fojtik thanked our party publishing houses—Svoboda and Pravda—for the promptness they displayed in translating and publishing the book, and said further:

"This important book, which has generated a great response throughout the world, is being published in our country at the time when our entire party and the whole of society are concentrating on realizing the program of the 17th CPCZ Congress, whose crux is the strategy of accelerating the social and economic development of society, restructuring the economic mechanism, and deepening socialist democracy. Of important help in this effort of ours are the 27th CPSU Congress documents, and M. Gorbachev's speeches at the CPSU Central Committee sessions, that followed this historic congress. This book now takes its place among these documents—a book that presents a composite explanation of the strategy and tactics of restructuring, which is of immense international importance.

"As is known, important preparations are currently underway for the approaching CPCZ Central Committee session, which provides a link to the fifth CPCZ Central Committee session held last March and is to work out the further course of the restructuring process in the CSSR. The important documents that the CPCZ Central Committee will adopt and that will proceed from the conclusions of the extensive discussion on the draft laws on state enterprises and cooperative enterprises will form the foundation of this process. We are facing exceptionally responsible work aimed at implementing changes that are to raise our society to a qualitatively higher level of development, imprint on it a modern form of organization, and ensure its dynamic development, as well as expand the field for activating the human factor and for an optimal utilization of people's creative potential, and take advantage of the immense advantages of the socialist social system.

"On this road we must clearly see the objectives and develop immense energy, and ensure a uniform approach to the fundamental questions of restructuring, and its realization, and this must correspond to our historical experience and conditions of our development and to the needs of our country, socialism, and the progressive forces in the world.

"Comrade M. Gorbachev's book, which we present in the Czech and Slovak languages today, is a wealthy fount of inspiration for our work.

"It is an example of creative application of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teaching to current conditions of development in the USSR and throughout the world; it is an example of the consistent application of materialist dialectics, which the new thinking essentially is. For this thinking, as the book proves, objective truth is an imperative. This truth is in full harmony with the

interests of the workers class, of the working people, of progressive forces, and of all who are fighting for socialism and communism and for social progress and peace.

"M. Gorbachev's book prompts us to honestly learn from the past and to continue looking ahead, actively shaping the future in accordance with our ideals.

"To do this, one must be armed with revolutionary ideology, communist awareness; one must have firm and rational faith and be convinced that this ideology and awareness arise from the knowledge that the path which we have chosen of the socialist revolution is necessary and correct. It is precisely this certainty and firm conviction, as well as the rational scientific faith in revolutionary and progressive ideals that provide us with the opportunity for flexible reaction, which is not under the sway of the needs of the moment and in which perspectives are not lost. The value of Marxism-Leninism is precisely that it makes such a reaction and such a flexible but principled policy possible—as long, of course, as it is being creatively developed and implemented; as long as it is not being treated as a package of dogmas.

"Precisely now and in the results of the summit meeting between the highest USSR and U.S. representatives in Washington, we can see the significant fruits this responsible approach yields in foreign policy. The peace initiative of the USSR, and of Comrade M. Gorbachev personally, with which the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak people fully identify, are excellent evidence of the new political thinking—thinking that rests on the comprehension of objective needs and objective laws of the time, and on the understanding of the vital interests of nations.

"I am convinced that M. Gorbachev's book will become an important instrument for an offensive by our ideological front, an offensive that this front must launch in all main directions of our society's restructuring. The upcoming CPCZ Central Committee session, which I have already mentioned, will undoubtedly be of particular importance for the further course of restructuring, and it will certainly provide the necessary impetus and also create further desirable prerequisites."

The solemn event was also attended by Vasil Bejda and Otto Cmolik, heads of CPCZ Central Committee departments.

Jakes Receives Soviet Planning Official
LD100035 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 9 Dec 87

[Text] Milos Jakes, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central committee, today received Yuriy Fomenko, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, who is paying a working visit to our country.

Their comradely and open conversation touched on preparation of the program of coordination of national economic plans between the CSSR and the USSR for the years 1991-95, and assessment of the present situation of the work and progress of finalizing the concept of economic, scientific, and technological cooperation between the two countries for the coming 15-20 years, stressing expansion of direct relations, deepening cooperation, and specialization.

They jointly noted that the dynamism of economic cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR has a constantly favorable development and that there exist all prerequisites for its further growth, which corresponds to the interests of the two countries.

Colotka Receives Estonian Foreign Minister
LD141539 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1300 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Today, in Bratislava, Petr Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak Premier, received Arnold Gren, minister of foreign affairs of the Estonian SSR, at the close of his working visit to Slovakia. Both representatives examined possibilities for intensifying all-round cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR, devoting particular attention to the expansion of Czechoslovak-Estonian relations in politics, the economy, culture, and sport.

Chnoupek To Visit Poland 21-22 December
LD142237 Prague CTK in English
2049 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek will pay an official friendly visit to Poland on December 21-22, 1987.

The visit will take place at the invitation of Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski.

Deputy Foreign Minister Meets French Official
LD101615 Prague CTK in English
1115 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Cernik and a senior French External Affairs Ministry official, Jacques Blot, discussed bilateral relations, the Soviet-U.S. summit talks in Washington and other international issues at their meeting in Prague.

Vaclavik 'Satisfied' With Recent Visits
LD141336 Prague CTK in English 1310 GMT
14 Dec 87

[Defense Minister Satisfied with Visits to India, Libya, Nigeria—CTK headline]

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defense Minister Army General Milan Vaclavik told CTK today that his recent visits to India, Libya and Nigeria "followed up Czechoslovakia's well developing friendly relations with these countries".

Foundations for these relations were laid at the time India, Libya and Nigeria became independent. "This fact was very positively reflected during talks with their defence ministers and highly appreciated when mutual relations were assessed during meetings with the supreme officials of the three states," General Vaclavik said and added that all these countries pursue a policy of peace and are active members of the Non-aligned Movement in the struggle against neo-colonialism, apartheid and racism. "These are also principles of our policy and we thus voiced unequivocal support for their endeavour".

Since the partners were interested in the importance of the treaty on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range missiles for Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak delegation gave a detailed expose on this matter.

In the concluding part of the interview General Vaclavik said that India, Libya and Nigeria are solving serious questions of their economic development and also their defence capability. "We have contacts with them in these and other spheres and our visit gave a fresh impulse to the development of mutually advantageous cooperation."

Decision on Seoul Olympics Set for 15 Jan

AU141551 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
12 Dec 87 p 6

[CTK report: "Session of the Czechoslovak Olympic Committee"]

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK)—Addressing a session of the Czechoslovak Olympic Committee yesterday, A. Himl, its chairman, said that some 60 CSSR athletes are expected to take part in the 1988 Winter Olympic Games in Calgary. CSSR athletes will compete in all sports, with the exception of bobsledding. The participation of figure skaters will be determined by the outcome of the European Championships in Prague in January. The aim of the Czechoslovak team will be to rank among the top 11 participating countries. The nomination will be approved in Prague on 15 January. This session will also give the final answer to the question of Czechoslovak athletes' start at the 24th [Summer] Olympic Games 1988; the closing date for applications for these games is 17 January.

"The joint aim is to create conditions that would enable the greatest possible number of athletes to take part in the Summer Olympics," the chairman of the Czechoslovak Olympic Committee stressed. "However, there is political instability in South Korea, clashes of demonstrators with the police are a daily occurrence, and the question arises of whether the Olympic idea of peace can thrive in such a situation and what sort of conditions the athletes will find there. The results of the presidential elections on 16 December will be very important for the country's further development." [passage omitted]

A total of 162 candidates for participation in the Olympic Games in individual events has been selected on the basis of anticipated results. [passage omitted] Participation in team sports will hinge on the outcome of the qualifying competitions. While both the men's and the women's handball teams have already qualified, the Olympic soccer team and the women's basketball team, which is awaiting the decisive qualifying tournament at Kuala Lumpur, are well on the way to booking their places. [passage omitted]

The session released Vaclav Hubicka from the post of general secretary of the Czechoslovak Olympic Committee. His place was taken by Petr Pomezny, who is on the staff of the International Department of the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association [CSTV] Central Committee. Pavel Klapus, deputy chairman of the CSTV Central Committee; Bohdan Muller, head of the CSTV Olympic Sports department; and Oto Janousek, chief of the Competitive Sports Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army, were elected members of the Czechoslovak Olympic Committee.

Janak, Hanus Receive Syrian Delegation

LD141146 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1100 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Ignac Janak, candidate member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received in Bratislava today a delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic headed by Ahmad Diyab, minister of local administration, which is on a working visit in Czechoslovakia. Ignac Janak informed the guests about the topical tasks facing our community during the period of speeding up social development. The delegation was also received by Slovak First Vice Premier Julius Hanus. He informed them about the tasks facing the local government at all levels and about how they are applying their managerial and organizational activity.

Husak Chairs Regional Secretaries Conference

LD141501 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1400 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] A state conference of chief secretaries of regional committees and of the Prague City and Bratislava committees of the CPCZ took place in Prague today under the chairmanship of Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and attended by members and candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, members of the CPCZ Central Committee secretariat, and [Jaroslav Hajn] the chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission. The conference dealt with topical issues of current party work, particularly in connection with the preparations for the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session convened by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium for Thursday, 17 December, and the course of action to be taken to ensure that its conclusions are implemented.

Emphasis was also placed on good quality preparation and standards for the course of the annual meetings of primary organizations, the all-plenary meetings, and party conferences.

Government Discusses Food Price Restructuring
LD102132 Prague CTK in English
2115 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government discussed at its session today progress in the restructuring of purchase and wholesale prices in the agriculture and food complex in Czechoslovakia as from January 1, 1989.

Prices in this sphere are to be reorganized on the basis of principles applied also in other branches of the national economy, while taking into account specific characteristics of farm production.

The government approved proposals of respective ministries that another 19 economic organizations join the comprehensive experiment of increasing the autonomy and responsibility of enterprises for effective development next January 1, 1989.

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The government approved proposals of respective ministries that another 19 economic organizations join the comprehensive experiment of increasing the autonomy and responsibility of enterprises for effective development next January 1. These selected enterprises in the fuel and power industry, metallurgy, engineering, consumer and food industries will be added to some two dozen which have become involved in the experiment throughout this year.

Indra Addresses Federal Assembly Session
LD151119 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1000 GMT 15 Dec 87

[Text] The seventh joint session of both chambers of the Federal Assembly started in Prague today. Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, welcomed Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic; Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal; and other CPCZ central committee Presidium members Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Karel Hoffmann, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, and Jozef Lenart; CPCZ Central Committee candidate members Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman, Miloslav Hruskovic, Ignac Janak and Frantisek Pitra; CPCZ Central Committee Secretaries

Mikulas Beno, Josef Havlin, and Jindrich Polednik; Central Committee Secretariat members Zdenek Horeni and Marie Kabrhelova; and Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The session is also attended by deputy premiers and ministers of the federal government, representatives of organs, political parties and social organizations of the National Front, and other guests. Opening the session, Alois Indra recalled the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range missiles. He said that the treaty is singled out with full justification as a victory of common sense, statesman-like responsibility, and understanding of the vital needs of mankind in the nuclear and space age. He voiced hope that the U.S. Congress would show the same approach when discussing the ratification of the treaty. He said that deputies of the Federal Assembly are in full agreement with the stand of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the federal government which has supported the Soviet-U.S. treaty and will actively support it in their parliamentary activity.

Minister Jaromir Zak then explained the draft bill on the state budget of the Czechoslovak federation for next year.

Officials Receive Church Representatives
AU142024 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
11 Dec 87 p 6

[CTK report: "Meeting of Church and Religious Officials"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Frantisek Jelinek, deputy minister-director of the Secretariat for Church Affairs of the Czech SR, arranged at the end of the year a meeting with representatives of churches and religious organizations and faculties of divinity, operating in the Czech SR.

In their speeches church and religious representatives welcomed the results of the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Washington, talks which should become an impetus for additional extensive disarmament in the world. This also creates favorable conditions for the realization of social and economic restructuring and the deepening of the process of democratization in our fatherland. Citizens-believers welcome restructuring, which also concerns spiritual spheres of the society, from the depth of their heart, and want to take an active part in it.

The receptions were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. Vladimir Janku, deputy minister-director of the Secretariat for Church Affairs of the CSSR Government, and Vincenc Macovsky, deputy minister-director of the Secretariat for Church Affairs of the Government of the Slovak SR, were present.

Vogel Praises INF Treaty, SED-SPD Projects
AU142050 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German
10 Dec 87 p 7

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—In a talk with ADN and AKTUELLEKAMERA of the GDR television service, SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel called the signing of the INF treaty an historic event. It is encouraging for all peace-loving people all over the world, he stated. "I think that this event was made possible by the massive support in both alliances." Now it is important to make further progress. "Also the projects that were jointly developed in talks between the SPD and the GDR leadership, namely the projects of a nuclear-free corridor and of a chemical-weapon-free zone, are gaining increased significance," Hans-Jochen Vogel stressed. "These could be further concrete steps to replace the dynamics of the arms race by the dynamics of disarmament so that we can jointly devote ourselves to mastering the great tasks of mankind."

Felfe Visits FRG, Meets With Kohl
LD260021 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1704 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Bonn 25 Nov (ADN)—FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl received Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, for a talk in Bonn today. There was an exchange of views on questions of international relations and bilateral cooperation between the two German states.

The head of the Federal Chancellor's Office, Minister Wolfgang Schauble, and the head of the GDR's permanent mission in the FRG, Ewald Moldt, took part in the meeting.

During a talk between Werner Felfe and Federal Minister Wolfgang Schauble, head of the chancellor's office, both sides noted that Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG had given numerous new stimuli to the deepening of relations between the GDR and the FRG. Werner Felfe stressed that it was now a case of putting the agreements into practice. He stressed the importance of the forthcoming summit meeting and the signing of the Soviet-U.S. accord on medium-range missiles, and emphasized that both German states have played a certain part in the coming about of this agreement. It is a disarmament measure which encourages further accords in this sphere.

Minister Schauble said that the signing of the accord will also have a positive influence on the further good development of relations between the two German states. The medium-range missile accord and its implementation are confidence-building measures of new quality. The minister spoke in favor of fulfilling the joint communique and the other agreements between the GDR and the FRG.

At a friendly meeting in the Bonn office of the DKP party executive, there was an intensive exchange of views with deputy party chairperson Ellen Weber on questions of safeguarding peace. Werner Felfe conveyed greetings from General Secretary Erich Honecker, which were warmly reciprocated.

Werner Felfe and Ellen Weber stressed the importance of the agreement in Geneva on the elimination of the Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles. The accord should introduce a dynamic disarmament process which leads from zero option to zero option for the other weapons of mass destruction, too.

It was stressed that the disarmament process must be effectively supported, especially by the two German states which are situated at the intersection of the two systems. It is desirable for the FRG to join the GLR's initiative for a nuclear weapons-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone. The development of relations between the GDR and the FRG is, it was unanimously agreed, of great significance for the safeguarding of peace and for a climate of goodneighborliness in Europe.

The further expansion of cooperation between the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association (VDGB) and the German Farmers' Association (DBV) was the focus of the meeting between Werner Felfe, Fritz Dallmann, and the president of the DBV, Constantin Freiherr Heereman. Both sides described the good relations to date as being not least also a contribution to the safeguarding of peace. They were unanimous in praising the agreements reached as a result of the Honecker visit, which also directly affect agriculture.

Fritz Dallmann spoke about the successful realization of the decisions of the 13th Farmers' Congress and about the importance of the VDGB, whose 640,000 members are represented in the people's representative bodies, including having their own group in the People's Chamber. He invited the president of the DBV to visit the GDR, and Constantin Freiherr Heereman accepted the invitation.

President Heereman spoke about the problems of farmers in the FRG, caused by the EEC, and said it is an important task of his association to preserve the existence of farms.

Constantin Freiherr Heereman stressed that these relations between the two German states exist not just in the agricultural sector, but go far beyond it. "Therefore, we also want to try and support all efforts for the safeguarding of peace," he said, "because everything we do is most effective and only has a future if peace is secured." Aspects of crop cultivation and livestock raising and of environmental protection were also discussed during the talk.

To mark Werner Felfe's visit to the FRG, the head of the GDR's permanent mission in the FRG, Ambassador Ewald Moldt, hosted a reception today. Representatives of the Federal Government, the Bundestag, the DKP, and the Farmers' Association, heads of diplomatic missions, and numerous FRG public figures were present.

During a meeting, Werner Felfe and Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the FDP Bundestag group, expressed support for normalization of contacts between the People's Chamber and the Bundestag. They both welcomed the agreement on the elimination of nuclear medium-range missiles. The next step, they said, is to introduce further disarmament measures for ICBMs, short-range missiles and conventional arms. Every imbalance in arms can be eliminated only through disarmament and not by arms build-up. In bilateral relations it is a matter of fleshing out the agreements reached during Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG.

Hermann, Poland's Mlynczak Discuss Disarmament
LD100033 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1843 GMT 9 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 9 Dec (ADN)—The joint responsibility of the GDR and the PPR for the strengthening of socialism and the securing of peace, as well as issues concerning bilateral relations, were the main focus of an exchange of views on Wednesday between Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic Poland. Both politicians expressed their satisfaction about the signing of the agreement between the USSR and the United States on the removal of nuclear medium-range weapons, which contains the possibility of a turning-point in disarmament issues.

Joachim Herrmann briefed his guest on the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th party congress of the SED and stressed the contributions made to this by the friendly parties, and by all the social forces united in the National Front. T.W. Mlynczak, who is in the GDR at the invitation of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD), spoke of the work of his party for the further economic and social development of Poland.

The meeting was attended by the chairman of the LDPD, Prof Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the State Council of the GDR; Karl Vogel, the department head under the Central Committee SED; and the Polish ambassador to the GDR, Dr Janusz Obodowski.

Prior to this, the Polish guest conferred with Prof Manfred Gerlach. Both politicians paid tribute to the summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan and described the agreement on the removal of land-based nuclear medium range missiles of the USSR and the United States as an event of historic significance.

Mikulic Visits Combine, Departs for Home
AU101449 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German
9 Dec 87 p 2

[Excerpts] East Berlin—On Tuesday morning [8 December] Branko Mikulic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, was cordially welcomed by Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack in the Red Town Hall. The mayor briefed the Yugoslav guest and his entourage about the development of the 750-year-old metropolis and the great achievements of its 1.2 million inhabitants. The mayor referred to Berlin's good relations with numerous capitals all over the world. The city has also had a long-standing exchange of experiences with Belgrade, he pointed out. Branko Mikulic stressed his opinion that these traditional contacts will be successfully continued. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon the chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council visited the mother company of the "7 October" Machine Tool Combine in Berlin-Weissensee. He was accompanied by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. After having been welcomed by Rudi Georgi, minister of machine tool and processing machinery building, Director General Heinz Warzecha explained the production profile of his combine. He stressed that at present 70 percent of the machines produced are equipped with microelectronic controls. [passage omitted]

At the end of his visit to the enterprise, the SFRY politician expressed the wish that the scientific-technological relations of the combine with its Yugoslav partners may develop in such a favorable way as the relations between the two countries.

On Tuesday evening Branko Mikulic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, concluded his official friendship visit to the GDR. At Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport he was cordially seen off by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. A military ceremony took place.

Immediately before the departure of the guest and his entourage, both statesmen made short statements to the television services of both countries, assessing the exchange of opinions as very fruitful and useful.

Willi Stoph said that the agreement expressed by both sides to aim at even closer cooperation in the most varied fields of production, science, and technology is particularly important. In discussing international issues, the common striving to preserve peace for all peoples in Europe and in the world has been the most important issue.

Branko Mikulic expressed his satisfaction at the results of his friendship visit to the GDR. He voiced Yugoslavia's readiness to continue cooperation at a higher level.

The following persons attended the farewell ceremony at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport: Werner Krolkowski and Alfred Neumann, members of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; Wolfgang Rauchfuss, Rudolph Schulze and Horst Soelle, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; and other prominent figures of the GDR, including Herbert Krolkowski, state secretary and first deputy foreign minister, and Ralph Hartmann, GDR ambassador to the SFRY.

Nier Receives French Official for Talks

*LD110003 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1658 GMT 10 Dec 87*

[Text] Berlin, 10 Dec (ADN)—GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier on Thursday received Christian Prettre, deputy director general for cultural and scientific relations in the French Foreign Ministry, for a talk.

There was agreement in paying tribute to the successful development of relations between the GDR and France, to which the cultural and scientific exchange makes a significant contribution.

Kurt Nier stressed the significance of stable and predictable relations between the two states as a contribution to international understanding. The GDR, which has stated its unreserved agreement and support for the treaty on the elimination of the medium-range nuclear missiles of the USSR and the United States, supported making consistent use of the preconditions which have improved as a result for an expansion of disarmament to further fields.

Both partners in the talks said the forthcoming visit by Erich Honecker to France would give a new impetus for the constructive and trusting cooperation between the two states in the interest of peace.

Christian Prettre has been in Berlin for talks on the state of the realization of the cultural plan existing between the two states.

GDR-PRC Sign Trade Protocol for 1988

*LD141733 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1503 GMT 14 Dec 87*

[Text] Berlin, 14 Dec 87 ADN—The annual trade protocol between the GDR and PRC for 1988 was signed Monday in Berlin by the deputy foreign trade ministers of both countries, Jochen Steyer and Wang Pinqing. It plans the expansion of trade.

GDR exports will consist, to a significant degree, of vehicle construction, processing and machine tool construction products as well as machinery and chemical industry equipment. Agreed upon supplies from China include textile products and mining, agriculture, and chemical industry products.

Before the signing, GDR Foreign Trade Minister Dr Gerhard Beil and Wang Pinqing had paid tribute to the way foreign trade relations between their countries had developed and deepened so far. Both declared their interest in further expanding this cooperation. Thus a "GDR Export Exhibition" is to be held in Beijing in April 1988. GDR foreign trade enterprises and combines will display their goods for export in groups of exhibits relevant to specific users.

Honecker Condolences on California Air Crash

*LD092229 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1606 GMT 9 Dec 87*

[Text] Berlin, 9 Dec (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, has expressed his profound sympathy in a telegram to U.S. President Ronald Reagan and the relatives of the victims of the tragic air crash near Templeton, California.

Margot Honecker Answers Margarita Papandreou

*AU081726 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in
German
5-6 Dec 87 p 1*

[Excerpt] Athens (ADN)—The peoples awakened by the threatening danger of a nuclear inferno and the dedicated peace movement of all countries and continents are looking toward the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan with great hope. With this meeting they link the firm expectation that it will become the starting point of a process of disarmament which will result in freeing mankind from weapons of mass destruction and in drastically reducing conventional armaments. This was stated by GDR Education Minister Margot Honecker in a letter to Mrs Margarita Papandreou, the wife of the Greek prime minister. On behalf of the "women for a significant summit" initiative Mrs Papandreou had asked Margot Honecker to jointly advocate the safeguarding of peace and the prevention of a nuclear disaster.

The GDR feels encouraged by its conviction "that, while observing the principle of equality and equal security, it is not only necessary but also possible to progress from zero-option to zero-option in all kinds of weapons," the letter says. The note was handed to Mrs Papandreou on Wednesday [2 December] by GDR Ambassador to Greece Horst Brie. The chance for a start of real disarmament, which is now being offered, would gradually open up real prospects to solve other global problems of mankind. [passage omitted]

Light Industry Minister Begins Libyan Visit

For Libyan coverage on the visit to Libya by Minister for Light Industry Werner Buschmann, including his talks with Libyan officials and the signing of minutes on joint

cooperation, see the Libya subsection of the Arab Africa section of the 11 December Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Horst Dohlus Addresses Party Aktivists
AU251409 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 24 Nov 87 p 2

[Excerpts] Hoyerswerda (ND)—On Wednesday [25 November] the party group organizers of the "Erich Selbmann" Black Pump Combine held an exchange of experiences on the further political, ideological, and economic tasks at the Hoyerswerda House of Miners and Energy Workers. In a message to Erich Honecker the combine's communists pledged that they will continue to implement the 11th Party Congress resolutions in close alliance with the working people.

The 800 participants in the conference, including secretaries and leadership members from basic organizations and department party organizations, welcomed Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Werner Walde, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership. In his address, Erich Beck, first secretary of the industrial kreis leadership, stated that, through the determined political work of the party collectives, the firm class standpoint and the clear stance on domestic and foreign policy have been further consolidated. [passage omitted]

In his closing speech Horst Dohlus conveyed most cordial greetings and thanks from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee. The party leadership is devoting much attention to the basic organizations and party groups, since their contribution is decisive for the way in which the leading role of the SED is realized, how the plan tasks are fulfilled, and how the party establishes increasingly close links with the masses, he stated. Touching upon current focal points in the party work, the speaker said: It is a question of successfully continuing the proven unity of economic and social policy in trusting cooperation with all working people, of obtaining more results from the "My Work Station—My Battle Station for Peace" drive, and of strengthening the awareness that the future belongs only to socialism. A high degree of wise political leadership and concrete party work are required in order to fulfill the daily plan targets through joint initiatives and in cooperation with the trade unions, the youth association, and the other mass organizations. It is a matter of strengthening the insight that struggle for peace is class struggle and that progress with regard to disarmament and detente depends primarily on the strength and attractiveness of socialism, to which everyone must make his contribution, Horst Dohlus stated. [passage omitted]

Chamber of Technology Congress Concludes
AU091200 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German
7 Dec 87 p 1

[Excerpts] Berlin (ND)—On Saturday [5 December] the Ninth Congress of the engineering organization was

successfully concluded in Berlin with the election of the leading functionaries of the Chamber of Technology [CT]. Professor Dr Dagmar Huelsenberg was reelected CT president. During the 2-day conference in the congress hall at Berlin's Alexanderplatz the approximately 500 delegates analyzed the results of their work and set new tasks.

In a greetings message to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, the representatives of almost 290,000 members of the engineering organization affirmed that the CT will contribute in a committed and creative way to implementing the policy decided on by the 11th SED Congress to benefit people, strengthen socialism, and safeguard peace. The ninth congress orients all members and collectives toward further intensifying their voluntary democratic cooperation in preparing, implementing and, in specific fields, surpassing the scientific-technological plan tasks. With new ideas and initiatives they will also help to guarantee dynamic production growth with reduced expenditure in the future. [passage omitted] [In a separate article on page 3 the paper reports the election of the following functionaries: vice president—Wolfgang Graubner, first secretary; Hubertus Bernicke, Peter-Klaus Budig, Norbert Langhoff, Kurt Singhuber, Heinz Warzecha; chairman of the Central Revision Commission—Gerhard Brueckner]

CC Sends Telegram

AU071516 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German
4 Dec 87 p 1

["Creative Activity for Stable Economic Growth; Greetings of the SED Central Committee to the Ninth Congress of the Chamber of Technology; Delegates of 290,000 Members Confer in Berlin from Today Onward"]

[Text] Esteemed delegates and guests,

Dear friends and comrades:

On the occasion of the Ninth Congress of the Chamber of Technology [CT] the SED Central Committee conveys to you and all members of the GDR Socialist Engineering Organization most cordial greetings.

As a comprehensive democratic organization of our socialist worker-peasant power, the CT makes an important contribution to implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress by the noteworthy activity of its nearly 290,000 members. The convincing political activities and the exemplary initiatives of its members and functionaries have an outstanding share in the high achievements with which the scientists, engineers, economists, and innovators of our country increasingly help to accelerate the dynamic economic growth for the benefit of the people, for socialism and peace.

It is highly important to the national economy that the CT commits itself with all its power and in an expert way to promoting the creative cooperation of the researchers, engineers, and specialists, to constantly increasing the effectiveness and quality of production by new bold ideas and solutions for the development and application of the key and high technologies. In this respect we pay special tribute to the manifold, concrete, and sound reflections, initiatives, and achievements aimed at obtaining more top achievements of international format in the process of innovating production, at securing a good product quality in a stable way, and at decisively reducing the expenditure of working time, material, energy, and costs. It has to be highly appreciated that in this way the enterprise sections, Scientific-Technological Societies and special CT committees make an increasingly effective contribution to universally fulfilling the 1987 national economic plan and to surpassing it in specific fields, as well as to thus preparing simultaneously ambitious plan tasks for the coming year.

The SED Central Committee conveys cordial thanks and pays high tribute to all CT members and functionaries for their great social activity and the excellent results.

On the basis of the previous results and the experiences gained you will discuss the qualitatively new requirements and tasks at your ninth congress to implement the economic strategy decided upon in view of the year 2000, to continue the course of the unity of economic and social policy, and to safeguard peace.

Above all in the research facilities of the combines, the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, and the universities, it should be the objective and the contents of the CT work to further develop and promote the resourcefulness and the creative activities of the scientists, engineers and innovators with regard to working out and using internationally new findings and solutions. Part of this is the formation of a working climate in which one's own tasks and achievements can be compared with top international standards in science, technology, and economy, without any compromise by generalizing the experiences of successful researchers and collectives. To attain top achievements and to secure high efficiency in the national economy are at the same time the decisive standards according to which the CT is promoting, in a proven way, the development and extension of scientific-technological cooperation with the USSR and the CEMA member countries.

Recognition is due to the CT members' aim to use even more consistently the opportunities of the key technologies, especially microelectronics, CAD/CAM technology, and flexible automation, to increase productivity, effectiveness, and quality, by new commitments and higher targets with regard to the tasks of the science and technology plans.

The CT's great and manifold efforts to impart new scientific-technological findings and proven experiences ready for scientists, engineers, and other working people to use during its further training activities, are especially important.

We regard it as an important task of the CT to promote even more purposefully the personal development of socialist researchers and engineers who distinguish themselves by their innovative spirit and their preparedness to take risks, in order to take over most ambitious scientific-technological tasks and to carry them with fighting spirit and perseverance to the utmost economic effect.

It should be an urgent concern of the enterprise sections and special committees to effectively support young researchers and engineers, especially women, in developing their resourcefulness and efficiency, and to prudently contribute to systematically discovering and promoting scientific-technological talents and abilities. It is of high social value to help above all the members of youth research collectives, young inventors and innovators, to stand the test in the struggle for top international positions as true initiators of the new. The SED Central Committee is convinced that important impulses will emanate from your congress for the contribution of the Socialist Engineering Organization to further implement the economic strategy decided on by the 11th SED Congress.

We wish your congress much progress and all CT members success, creative vigor, and personal well-being.

With socialist greetings, SED Central Committee E. Honecker general secretary.

The GDR Council of Ministers conveyed greetings, too.

International Human Rights Day Noted
AU142132 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German
10 Dec 87 p 6

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Committee for Human Rights has issued the following statement on the 39th anniversary of the adoption of the General Declaration of Human Rights by the UN Organization:

It is with pleasure and satisfaction that the people interested in world peace have received the treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles concluded between the USSR and the United States a few days ago. For the first time in history the elimination of an entire class of nuclear weapons was embarked upon. It is to be desired that this accord leads to a worldwide detente and disarmament process. May it help to accomplish a switch from the opposition of the two world systems to their cooperation. Thus an important step is being taken to ensure the most fundamental right of man—the right to a life in peace.

The GDR Committee for Human Rights supports the multi-faceted activities which are being undertaken at the initiative of the socialist states at the United Nations in order to create a comprehensive system of world peace and relations of mutual trust between all states on earth. Human rights must become the field of peaceful competition between the social systems, a field of dialogue and of cooperation. On the Day of Human Rights we reaffirm our firm solidarity with the victims of the massive violations of human rights, which are being committed in the form of racism, apartheid, fascism, and genocide. We feel we are closely linked with the peoples struggling for their national and social self-determination, for the elimination of neocolonialist exploitation and of the apartheid regime.

The distinguishing factor of daily life in the world of socialism is that the citizens cannot claim just a few selected human rights. The comprehensive safeguarding of human rights in their inseparable unity of political, socioeconomic, and cultural rights is a characteristic of the policy of our socialist state. As early as 1966 when the two Human Rights Conventions were passed by the United Nations, of which the GDR has been a member since 1973, this overall complex of rights has been incorporated in its inseparability and mutual interdependence.

But the guarantees of the citizens' fundamental rights, confirmed by the Constitution, by far exceed this international minimum standard. Social security, full employment, social justice, and real opportunities of education for all constitute the foundations of democracy and of the development of human rights. The further dynamic development of socialist democracy enables every individual citizen through the assertion of his rights to actively participate in fashioning the socialist society. As a social committee we give our full support and approval to the policy of our state.

Honecker Condolences to Jewish Presidium
AU251811 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 24 Nov 87 p 1

[ND item: "Helmut Aris Is Dead; Letter of Condolences to the Presidium of the Jewish National Representation in the GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—Helmut Aris, the co-founder and long-time president of the Jewish National Representation in the GDR died on Sunday in Berlin at the age of 79. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following letter of condolences to the Presidium of the Jewish National Representation in the GDR:

To the Presidium of the Jewish National Representation in the GDR

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and the GDR State Council, I convey heartfelt sympathy to the Jewish National Representation in the GDR on the death of its president, Helmut Aris.

In the hour of the joint grief which we feel, we pay tribute to the important life work of Helmut Aris, a steadfast antifascist and patriot, who was devoted to the cause of peace, to understanding among peoples, and to humanism.

Helmut Aris always was a loyal member of our Republic and has done much for strengthening its respect and authority. Persecuted and imprisoned in the night of Fascism, he always remained loyal to the oath of all steadfast antifascists and passed on his rich fighting experiences to the young generation. Helmut Aris earned outstanding merit as the co-founder and long-time president of the Jewish National Representation in the GDR among Jewish citizens and beyond that in the whole of society.

He devoted much of his life to the task of spreading the knowledge that anti-Semitism, race-baiting, and hatred of peoples have been completely exterminated and that all citizens, irrespective of their ideology and creed, are given social protection and security.

As a member of the National Council of the GDR National Front, Helmut Aris has earned great confidence and respect through his dedicated work for the happiness and well-being of our people.

He will always remain unforgotten. With socialist greetings, E. Honecker Berlin, 23 November 1987

MAGYAR HIRLAP Lauds Summit

*AU150921 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian
10 Dec 87 p 1*

[Editorial signed by Denes Gyapay: "Historic Moments"]

[Text] I do not know how many billions of people were anxiously waiting together with me for the television news from Washington on 8 December. In my imagination, the East Wing of the White House had increased considerably in size and we were all crowded in there: white people, colored people, the peoples of five continents. The cameras immortalized historic moments; how unfortunate that we have worn out the greatness of this term and have depreciated its value! But we search in vain in the arsenal of more than 1 million words of our language for a better word to express this idea; we will not find a better one: Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan have signed an agreement of historic importance and it would be a good idea to freeze the series of images that immortalize the historic moment as a reminder, an eternal memento for generations to come.

It is possible that all this is only autosuggestion, subjective supposition—perhaps I am the only one who saw it that way, or did billions of other people do the same together with me?—but, thanks to the cameras, I was able to see signs of relief on the faces of the two statesmen and of the people invited to the signing ceremony. Of course there was relief there, when at long last a tangible result emerged in the most pressing issue of our age, the Hamlet dilemma of to be or not to be. It is a thoroughly-considered and rational agreement, adjusted to the realities of our nuclear age and based on mutual good will, an agreement that already stipulates not only arms limitation, but also the elimination of an entire class of weapons of mass destruction. A nerve-racking and long road led to the signing of this agreement, a road full of hopes and doubts. Mutual confidence was running out and new obstacles were blocking the chances of an agreement.

Since 8 December, for the first time in the 4 decades of history of the nuclear age, the spiral of nuclear armament has been broken. It is true, however, that this agreement stipulates only a diminutive 3-4 percent reduction in the stocks of huge nuclear arsenals. But, according to the intentions of the big powers, all this — as also emerged from the short festive speeches on the occasion — is only the first step. One can therefore understand the following legitimate encouragement: The first step should be followed by an even greater second one — a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

Of course, the agreement stipulating the elimination of almost 2,000 warheads already has its enemies. It would be absurd to believe that, simultaneous with the nuclear disarmament, there will be no prophets of a considerable development of conventional weapons. Some NATO circles are already claiming that the alleged superiority of

the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact should be answered as soon as possible. No doubt, it will be difficult to convince the skeptics that increased armaments will increase the chances of a new, universal conflagration, rather than the chances of security.

However, mankind, is yearning for calm and peace; it is longing for a world in which the peoples of countries with different social and economic orders regard each other with mutual understanding and appreciation. Only dialogue and the wise compromises that led to the moving moments of the historic signing ceremony in the White House on 8 December can regulate such a world.

Foreign Minister Makes State Visit to Egypt

Arrives in Cairo 12 Dec

*LD131306 Budapest MTI in English
1911 GMT 12 Dec 87*

[Text] Cairo, December 12 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi arrived in Cairo for a three-day official visit on Saturday evening. At the Heliopolis airport the head of Hungarian diplomacy was welcomed by Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

Official talks are to start on Sunday. Peter Varkonyi is to meet President Husni Mubarak, Prime Minister 'Atif Sidqi, and other members of the government. A Hungarian foreign minister last visited Egypt in 1975. The 1985 visit of 'Abd al-Majid to Budapest is now being returned by Peter Varkonyi.

Varkonyi, Mubarak Meet

*LD131736 Budapest MTI in English
1758 GMT 13 Dec 87*

[Text] Budapest, December 13 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, currently in an official visit in Cairo, met Egyptian head of state Husni Mubarak on Sunday. Foreign ministerial talks also started in the course of the day.

President Mubarak and the head of Hungarian diplomacy discussed topical international issues and reviewed the state of Hungarian-Egyptian relations. The Egyptian president emphasized the readiness and interest of his country in the development of the system of relations, and the strengthening of reciprocally advantageous cooperation in economy, culture and other fields of life.

Following the talks Peter Varkonyi met 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

In the afternoon Peter Varkonyi met 'Ali Lutfi, president of the Shura (advisory) council, then the Hungarian foreign minister and Faruk Sayf al-Nasr [name as received], minister of justice, signed an agreement on judicial assistance.

'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid gave a gala dinner in honour of the Hungarian guest.

On Monday Peter Varkonyi is to meet Prime Minister 'Atif Sidqi, and then he is to deliver a lecture on Hungarian foreign policy at the Foreign Affairs Institute in Cairo. In order to expand the two-way traffic of tourism a protocol is also expected to be signed.

Protocol Signed

*LD142300 Budapest MTI in English
2017 GMT 14 Dec 87*

[Text] Cairo, December 14 (MTI)—On Monday Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi continued his talks in Egypt on the development of bilateral relations based on mutual advantages.

On meeting the Hungarian foreign minister, Prime Minister 'Atif Sidqi stated with satisfaction that in recent years the two countries' economic relations have continued to develop evenly with the addition of new forms of cooperation. The Egyptian head of government as well as Deputy Prime Minister Yusuf Wali, minister of agriculture and food security, stressed the readiness of their country to intensify reciprocally advantageous links in the economic, commercial, scientific and other fields.

On the occasion of the foreign ministerial visit, a Hungarian-Egyptian tourism protocol was signed on the expansion of bilateral tourist traffic.

Egyptian Media Coverage

For Egyptian reportage of Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi's visit and his meetings with high-ranking Egyptian officials, see the Egypt section of the 14 December Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

U.S. Computer Program Presented at Exhibition
AU101435 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Dec 87 p 8

[Text] The U.S. Microsoft firm presented its new computer program at an exhibition in the Atrium Hyatt Hotel in Budapest. The Austrian Green Data Enterprise and the Hungarian Electrocoop Enterprise modified the program for Hungarian-language usage.

Workers Protest in Romania Viewed, Analyzed
*AU141720 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian
12 Dec 87 p 6*

[Article by Miklos Ritecz: "Before the National Conference—Considerations in Bucharest"]

[Text] The workers of a truck-manufacturing enterprise in Brasov recently sent a telegram to Nicolae Ceausescu in which they exercised self-criticism for their firm's

poor performance and criticized the management for "failing to do their utmost to ensure production and discipline." There would be nothing special about this—since it is customary for the participants of meetings in Romania to express their loyalty to the RCP secretary general in a telegram—if these were not precisely the workers of a large enterprises in Brasov who had held the meeting.

However, the official Romanian press has not supplied news from this industrial town since the middle of November, and this enterprise general meeting—the report on the meeting—was the piece of information that broke the silence. In the meantime, of course, the Western press has been carrying front page articles analyzing the disturbances that took place in Brasov on 15 November, and some papers even hinted at a "crisis of the Romanian system" or either whispered or shouted about the brutal murder of members of the authorities. So, more than 2 and 1/2 weeks after the local council elections, the representatives of the workers in the above mentioned firm—at least, that is how the report put it—discussed the deficiencies in the work of their enterprise.

The People Responsible [subhead]

The enterprise management was clearly blamed for the poor performance and the deficiencies in wages. As a result of this lack of responsibility, "some workers (in Romanian parlance: some of the personnel) who do not fulfill the conditions for having the honor of being members of this strong working class resorted to manifestations that are alien to our society." Thus, the general meeting at the beginning of December "firmly and indignantly" condemned these actions that—as the participants pointed out—"are directly opposed to the workers' morals and the laws of the country." At the same time, the meeting initiated the steps to fire these "disturbing elements" and to "employ them in other jobs"—but, of course, they must first answer for their actions in the court. (Besides, the entire enterprise management was fired.)

After all this, the telegram addressed to the head of state has an almost apologetic tone, a telegram in which the workers expressed their implicit support for the domestic and foreign policy of the party and state and assured Ceausescu that "your revolutionary spirit, dynamism, inexhaustible energy, self-sacrificing determination, passionate patriotism, and far-sighted thinking represent a brilliant example for every communist and worker of our enterprise." As for what actually happened in Brasov on 15 November, this remains obscure both in the communiqué on the meeting and the telegram. Only assumptions and the reports of Western press agencies provide some basis for an explanation.

Reports From Brasov [subhead]

According to REUTER, local council elections were held in this large industrial city on that Sunday, as they were throughout the country. Night shift workers were told that they could go home only after they had voted. According to the reports, the workers, who were in a bad mood (and who had to reckon with a 30-percent reduction in their wages because of the inadequate fulfillment of their plans) set a police car on fire and then marched toward the local council building and the party headquarters chanting anti-regime slogans. The first reports spoke about "20,000 people," then, the mass of people decreased—at least according to the reports—to 10,000 angry demonstrators. According to AP, the demonstrators ransacked the above mentioned two buildings, set pictures on fire, and only then did the police and military troops succeed in calming the crowd down. According to press agency releases based on the reports of diplomats, the city of Brasov was kept closed to foreigners for days.

As Bucharest delayed reports of the incident for quite a while, and the details have not been published to this very day, it was undoubtedly possible for exaggerations and unfounded gossip to spread. Of course, the economic situation, the shortage of goods, and the strong belt-tightening policy carried out in order to pay back the foreign debts are all facts. The Romanians speak of energy problems but that can hardly comfort the people who have to shiver with cold in winter. One thing is, therefore, certain: the fact that, in a few years, the country has succeeded in reducing its debt by half, can be considered a success. But at what price? A reporter of the Yugoslav newspaper MAGYAR SZO [HUNGARIAN WORD] made a tour of Romania and has just started to publish a series of articles on his impressions. He calls the first two installments: "A Country on a Low Flame", and his first sentence says that "Romania is in need."

Other countries are also in need—the reporter points out—and other peoples also carry the burden of economic difficulties, but "the catastrophic economic situation in Romania is expressed in its crudest reality" in the everyday life of the people. The burden is "too heavy and is ruthlessly pressing down on the people"—the reporter adds, and then describes in detail his experiences, beginning with the crossing of the border.

Black Market [subhead]

The highest organs in Bucharest have also repeatedly criticized the official bureaucracy. Therefore, it does not appear to be anything new when the MAGYAR SZO reporter describes the eagerness of the Romanian border guards. "Do you carry another passport? Do you carry newspapers or books? Such questions were put to me"—the MAGYAR SZO reporter writes. Then, in somewhat more detail, he describes the difficult economic situation mentioned in the introduction. He praises the inventiveness of the population in trying to bridge the problems. For example, they enhance their monthly fuel ration with cleaning alcohol and kerosene. With these innovations, motorists can drive several more kilometers on the

roads. The Yugoslav reporter also describes the black market, which is blossoming in proportion to the problems facing the country. (Of course, this is a phenomenon that occurs everywhere and there would be nothing curious in the fact that these things were not kept quiet and were not treated as taboos by the local press.)

Besides, the newspapers are nowadays increasingly dealing with the abuses of certain local leaders, and it is a positive development that the people responsible for these abuses are mentioned by name. Relatively a lot of attention was given to the bourgeois taste of the Dolj county party leaders who—as the Bucharest press writes—"instead of working with communist responsibility in order to implement the decisions of the Political Executive Committee and the relevant indications of RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to extensively mobilize the county's workers for the implementation of the export plans, they embarked on a hunting session, thus displaying a condemnable attitude." Besides, one of the leaders was wounded during the hunt and had to be taken to hospital in a severe condition. This time, this affair, which received unusual publicity, did not end simply with the sacking of those involved, because it was later discussed by the Political Executive Committee.

The supreme party organ summed up the lesson of the hunt in a decision and this was fully published on the front pages of the central press. The affair led to the discussion of the party discipline, or more precisely, lack of discipline experienced in the organization. The decision states that leniency, favoritism, and the hushing up of various negative phenomena led to the weakening of the party spirit. "Let us learn the lesson from all this and stop being lenient with the smallest of mistakes"—the decision stressed. "If we disregard or underestimate the negative aspects, they can grow to the extent that we can reach a point when there is, indeed, nothing we can do any more"—the document points out.

Consequences [subhead]

This warning does not seem to have been given by accident; it seems that Bucharest is taking into account the consequences of the difficulties. Precisely prior to the national party conference which is due to begin on 14 December it is worth paying attention to such central declarations, which can also project the tone of the conference. This event, considered to be important in Bucharest, was originally planned for 7 December, but in November, following the local council elections, it was postponed for a week.

Romanians Elect To Try Border Guard LD141840 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] The [Romanian] border guard who a few months ago shot and killed a Romanian citizen who had fled to Hungary is to be put on trial in Romania. After the border incident on 29 May the Hungarian side offered to

investigate the case on the basis of the existing international treaty. Romania's supreme judge has now informed the Hungarian authorities that his examination of the case has ended and the Romanian border guard, (Nistor Adrian), now in preliminary detention, is to be put on trial.

Assembly Committees Prepare for Session

Grosz Reports on Ministers Bill

*LD142050 Budapest MTI in English
1826 GMT 14 Dec 87*

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI)—The Monday session of the Legal, Administration and Judicial Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly was attended by Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly, and several other parliamentary officials.

At first Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, outlined the bill on the enumeration of the ministries of the Hungarian People's Republic, which comprises the parts of the concepts on the modernization of governmental work which fall under the competence of the National Assembly. The committee approved the bill and agreed that it should be presented by the chairman of the Council of Ministers to the next session of the parliament.

Following, the committee repeatedly discussed the bill on legislation. It adopted the summary report on the committee's proposed amendments and supplementary notions attached to the new draft law. The committee decided to recommend the new law on legislation for adoption by the parliament together with the supplementary notions and proposed amendments.

Defense, Interior Officials Report

*LD141415 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
1145 GMT 11 Dec 87*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Yesterday, the Defense and Commerce Committees of the National Assembly held sessions to prepare for the National Assembly session next week. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati talked about the results for this year:

[Begin Karpati recording] We have brought about a more modern organization in our army. We have reduced the number of leading organs by around 30 percent. In our home air defense, a new missile complex of great range was developed, which has been tested already this year in three shooting ranges in the Soviet Union, with excellent results. During the course of solving this very complicated, sharp-shooting task, thriftiness also asserted, for this complicated target was destroyed with fewer missiles. This means that they saved 40 million forints.

I would like to inform the Defense Committee that we carried out training [words indistinct] maintenance, amid the most stringent economizing. We take this on also in the number of exercises. Reductions can be made, but there is a limit at which we must stop. However, the exercises can be made significantly cheaper with the greatest thriftiness, good preparations, and without any kind of showiness, conducting them appropriately to the aims, but also in a way such as, for example this year, when we called up 9 percent fewer reserves. We called in 34 percent fewer technical tools from the people's economy. We bring about these reductions, above all, with regard to developing. This affects large home enterprises that manufacture industrial products. We do not help their situation with this. [passage omitted] [end recording]

There also was great interest in the budget of the Ministry of the Interior. State Secretary Jenoe Foeldes, first of all, described the social background in which the police, border guards, and public order organs have to work.

[Begin Foeldes recording] The worries and contradictions of our social development, the changed circumstances also have an effect on internal affairs work. Public safety in our homeland in international comparisons is adequate, but in recent times, compared to the earlier situation, it has deteriorated. The social reasons and circumstances that cause crime have multiplied. The changes underway in the areas of production and distribution, the processes of economic reorganization, the life circumstances of certain strata becoming more difficult, the spreading of various artfulness, separately, but also all together, have contributed to the loosening of citizens' discipline, to the spread of conduct alien to socialist morals.

The international features of crime have strengthened. Newer, more dangerous methods have emerged. The makeup of crime also has changed somewhat. We have received less information about traffic, public order crimes, crimes against personal and social property. In other crime categories, however, an increase has been experienced, mainly the number of economic crimes, and crimes against personal possessions. The number of occurrences of disorders experienced at sports and other events also has increased. In connection with this, I wish to mention that the increasing number of these and similar violent kinds of disorder makes necessary at all costs the creation of police and police squad forces of a more significant number, ready and immediately utilizable. We have had to reckon with this in our plan. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Defense Budget Debate Reported

*LD131053 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
1500 GMT 12 Dec 87*

[From the "168 Hours" program; passages in quotation marks recorded]

[Excerpts] In line with the customary political ritual, before the National Assembly decides on whether to approve the plan and budget for 1988, the National Assembly committees discuss the draft submission. The Planning and Budget Committee, whose session is attended by the chairmen of the other committees as well, is the last to meet. Usually the debate concerns prices, supplies and the sums earmarked for culture and health; yesterday, however, it was the briefing on the military budget which excited the deputies most. Now follows a review of the session, put together by Henrik Havas.

[Havas] After the reports which contained detailed figures, not published earlier, a frank and comprehensive debate developed. Laszlo Gyuricza, the chairman of the Defense Committee, made an interesting statement.

[Gyuricza] "The mass media reported the session of the Defense Committee as if this had been the first open session. This is not in line with the facts; the sessions of the Defense Committee have been open up to now as well, only our work was not followed with the appropriate interest. It was also said that the Defense Committee of the National Assembly is not, of course, the interest-representational organ for the Defense Ministry and Ministry of Internal Affairs. We, who sit on this committee are deputies just like the others, we are endeavoring to represent the interests of the country and of our electoral districts."

[Havas] This is followed by the standpoint adopted by the Defense Committee of the National Assembly.

[Gyuricza] "The determining element is maintaining the level, while development is of a very small magnitude. I would also like to emphasize that beyond the pure defense costs, the army carries out other tasks as well. Its participation in the work of the people's economy is considerable, not to mention such occurrences as the winter this January, which cost the army about 70 million forints, for which no one has received a bill."

[Havas] Pal Gagyor represented the Industrial Committee and spoke from that aspect on the issue of military expenditure.

[Gagyor] "I will state quite frankly that the question of reducing military expenditure was also raised in specific terms, though yesterday Comrade Karpati provided information regarding the sources of the increase. Specifically, it is the result of grossing up. There is, however, also an increase in real terms. Nevertheless, it deserves either more justification or further consideration that in the historical situation that has developed, when there are reductions in almost every sphere, it is very difficult to explain, to justify, that there is an area where there is an increase. This tendency requires either a reexamination or more thorough explanation."

[Havas] Rezső Nyers spoke as chairman of the Commerce Committee and as chairman of the ad hoc committee for the supervision of governmental measures connected with the introduction of the tax reform.

[Nyers] "We are not recommending a reduction in military expenditure but we have come to the opinion that there is a need to include the problems of military policy in politics at large to a greater extent. Public opinion is not acquainted with the stance of the party and the government, namely that the party and the government are not giving free scope to an increase in military expenditure. They do not set limits only to the market; they set limits also for military expenditure, trying to moderate them."

[Havas] Peter Medgyessy, minister of finance, agreed in his reply that parliament should debate the scale of defense expenditure, just as it debates other expenditures. The government could contribute best to this by explaining and formulating its own position clearly.

[Medgyessy] "We spoke about these questions in earlier times as well; perhaps now, in line with the endeavors of the National Assembly, a little more is said on this topic. This is not a bad thing; this fits in with the consideration that it is possible and necessary to speak about these matters, not with the intention of determining the methods of military techniques; obviously, the competence to do this is not present here. However, we must provide information on the total sums spent by the Hungarian economy, or Hungarian society, for this purpose."

"I am glad that there is less mystery on these issues. I must, however, very strongly affirm that the government cannot have the National Assembly approve a smaller military budget than that which is being put forward, quite simply because it is in our interest that the Hungarian Government should provide the appropriate security from this aspect as well for the Hungarian economy and society, and from another point of view, we have international obligations and these involve mutual obligations. We must fulfill them." [passage omitted]

[Havas] The possibility of reducing the fund for the reorganization of insolvent enterprises by 500 million forints was mentioned in a half-sentence. This might happen because the Government, giving in to the tremendous pressure exerted by the deputies, will increase support for families with two children by 500 million forints. The National Assembly will decide at its session next week on whether to increase the maternity grant from 4,000 to 10,000 forints or to increase family supplements from 400 to 500 forints till the child reaches the age of 3. Whichever version the deputies adopt, the price is the reduction of the reorganization fund by 500 million forints.

The next sensitive area was the development of trade with the CEMA countries. Janos Hoos said the following.

[Hoos] "Our CEMA debts have decreased by R260 billion by the end of 1987. In 1988, according to the plan, we shall have a net surplus of 220 million. But if the Hungarian economy does not make great endeavors to devote this capacity for rational domestic import-substitution and for capitalist exports, then, it must be stated quite clearly comrades, we shall not be able to lay the foundations for the plan."

[Havas] After a long time, the terms of trade are now changing in our favor, our products are becoming more expensive for our socialist partners. Two possibilities might follow: Either they will offer us deliveries above the agreed ones or, and this is more likely, they will forego a proportion of the Hungarian products, and this is something for which we must already be preparing ourselves. For a Hungarian enterprise which cannot sell its products freed thereby in the capitalist markets, or use them for import substitution at home, will quite simply have to stop production. The greatest threat is to the Hungarian engineering industry.

University Students Boycott Cafeteria
AU101252 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
9 Dec 87 p 6

[L.S.-signed report: "Why Did the Cafeteria Remain Empty at the Economic Science University?"]

[Excerpts] The students' mess at the Karl Marx Economic Science University remained empty at noon on 8 December. This was how the students protested over the cafeteria food and the high prices.

Is the catering so bad here that a boycott was needed, we asked Jeno Kutassy, one of the heads of the students' section of the University Council.

"Yes", he said. "We simply did not see any other solution; we asked in vain for the leaders of the enterprise operating our students' mess to institute changes; they did not lift a finger."

Janos Gyurkovics, deputy director of the Pest-Buda Catering Enterprise, evaluates things quite differently:

"The whole thing is simply not true! I was present yesterday, for example, at the meeting of the university's cafeteria committee, and I agreed that the students were right on many things, and I promised to take measures to improve the situation. But I maintain my opinion that the level of the catering service here is average." [passage omitted]

"In my opinion," Janos Gyurkovics said, "the entire boycott was, in fact, not directed against us." He mentioned that the boycott was planned in advance. He also said at the meeting that the old chef would be replaced with a new one.

Jeno Kutassy rejects the allegations: "This is not true. We do not organize a boycott just for the sake of boycotting. It is, however, true that we prepared this step because our students' section was established recently and we wanted to see how much power we have, whether the students would follow us." [passage omitted]

Ministers Meet, Consider Referendum 14 Dec

'Tone Down' Price Increases

LD141904 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Excerpts] The Council of Ministers met today. [passage omitted]

The Government—in the central plan for next year adopted today—has decided, in accordance with the results of the referendum, to tone down [zlagodzic] the solutions in the sphere of prices and incomes policy.

The rise in retail prices, taken as a total—which will occur after 1 January 1988—has been defined as 27 percent. This will happen, of course, while maintaining at the same time the principles of compensation, in accordance with the adopted solutions, about which we reported broadly before the referendum.

Adopt 1988 Central Plan

LD142352 Warsaw PAP in English
2226 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 14—Today, the Council of Ministers considered and adopted the 1988 Central Annual Plan (CAP). Next year's economic policy will be aimed at implementation of the essential objectives and directions of social and economic development of the country defined in the 1986-1990 National Social and Economic Plan (NSEP), and in particular at a balanced and economic development and an improvement of the population's living conditions. The policy will focus on acceleration of the process of economic-balance attainment.

The referendum of November 29, 1987, affected the outline of the Central Annual Plan. Being a proof of the population's broad support for the programme of economic reforms, the referendum results placed, at the same time, a requirement for the government to alleviate solutions suggested in the field of price and income policy.

It is planned that next year's produced national income will grow by 3.2 to 3.8 per cent, whilst the distributed national income is to grow by 2.7 to 3.3 per cent. Supply of goods to the market (alcoholic drinks and tobacco products excepted) is to increase by 3.4 to 4.0 per cent, with a 2.1 to 2.8 per cent growth in food supplies and a 4.6 to 5.1 per cent increase in non-food consumption goods supplies. Supply of general services will grow by 5.0 to 5.5 per cent.

In keeping with the directions of structural changes as adopted by the NSEP, a faster production growth should be reached by processing industries (electrical engineering industry—5.6 per cent, including precision engineering industry—10.3 per cent, and electrical industry—6.4 per cent) as well as by pharmaceutical industry—13.1 per cent.

The estimated growth in plant output in agriculture is 2.4 to 3.5 per cent, which will allow for a 2.1 per cent increase in animal output.

The plan envisages building of 203 thousand apartments and an increase in average usable floor area up to 56.6 square meters. Some 257 thousand apartments will undergo repairs and modernization.

General hospitals and clinics will be provided with 3.5 thousand beds, while social care institutions will gain 1.2 thousand new lodgings.

Primary and secondary schools will have 3.7 classrooms more, whereas nurseries and nursery schools will have their attendance capacity increased by 2.1 thousand and 27.3 thousand, respectively.

The estimations have it that expenditure in public transport will grow by some 3.4 to 4.2 per cent, in housing—by 4.6 to 5.9 per cent, in education—by 3.5 per cent, and in health and social care—by 3.3 per cent.

The number of telephones is to increase by some 150 thousand. As for edition of books and brochures, a growth up to 255 or 260 million copies is planned.

The radical price operation will be spread over three years. Next year's plan assumes an increase in retail prices general level after January 1, 1988, by 27 per cent on the average, with liquor and tobacco not included. The plan also envisages automatic compensations for the price rise for all those employed in socialized economy units and for pensioners according to the principles announced prior to the referendum. It is planned to maintain average real salary in socialized economy next year on a level no lower than that of 1987, with the exclusion of the effects of liquor and tobacco price rises. In order to meet numerous postulates by crews of employees, the raised tax threshold on over-normative wages distribution will be lifted.

As a third stage of the so-called "old purse" elimination, effective September 1, 1988, disability and old-age benefits will be increased irrespective of the compensations.

In agriculture, where general price rise will apart from maintenance cost increase also result in a production cost growth, its effects will be compensated for by appropriate rise in agricultural produce procurement prices.

The plan envisages an industrial output growth by the total of 3.4 to 3.7 per cent. Further development of housing, construction, transport, communications and trade is planned. Exports to hard-currency countries should increase next year by 5.2 per cent. A 60 per cent increase in national revenue should be a result of material- and energy-saving economy. Expenditure on research and development will amount to 2.7 per cent of next year's distributed national income.

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft decree on principles and organization of material and technology supply up to 1990. The solutions proposed are aimed at increasing the role of economic mechanisms in supply-processes steering as well as at ensuring fulfillment of the implementation programme of the economic reforms' second stage.

Next, the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on central investment projects starting 1988. The current programme of central investments engages next year's funds for expenditure to the amount of some 351 billion zlotys, out of which 346 billion zlotys will be allotted to continued investment projects. As for freshly-started investments, they constitute 1.5 per cent of expenditure funds.

Also, the Council of Ministers endorsed a resolution on government-commissioned investment projects. It is envisaged that 172 investment projects, will have been implemented next year under government contracts.

The next point on the agenda of the Council of Ministers' session was consideration and adoption of a 1988 budgetary draft law. The draft 1988 state budget reflects the complexity of Poland's economic and financial situation. It will be tabled with the Sejm.

The Council of Ministers endorsed a draft 1988 balance of payments. Stabilization of payment situation with socialist countries is envisaged. Poland's payment situation with regard to hard-currency countries remains difficult, which stems, among other things, from very limited possibilities of acquiring new credits in convertible currencies. In spite of their favourable development this year the exports to hard-currency countries continue to be too low, which results in shortage of funds for financing imports and debt servicing.

Also, draft parliamentary law on the 1988 central fund for development of science and technology was endorsed. It is suggested the fund be higher by some 24 per cent than last year's. Compared to the 1987's 2.4 per cent, funds for research and developmental operations will constitute 2.7 per cent of distributed national income.

The Council of Ministers endorsed Sejm's draft law on the central fund for development of culture. The draft law envisages that the central fund for development of culture would have the total of 107.5 billion zlotys at its disposal next year, which considering last year's figures would entail an over-28-per-cent-high growth.

The Council of Ministers considered next issue on the agenda and adopted a 1988 draft credit plan, which had been submitted by the president of the national bank of Poland and which included a balance sheet of the population's monetary income and expenditure as well as main tenets of the state's financial and credit policy.

A principle was adopted that ranks would apply uniform rules of credit policy with regard to all sectors of economy, being guided by the criterion of most-effective utilization of the credit funds which are allotted to particular economic units.

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft regulation on amended compensating tax. It was decided that in 1988 the tax-free money would amount to three-times as much as average pay in socialized economy, and not twice as much as it used to be.

Next, the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on granting bills of statutes to the Ministry for Culture and Art, ministry for Protection of Environment and National Resources, and to the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

As in the cases of the freshly-founded ministries, a principle was adopted to introduce a functional division into the above-mentioned ministries, and not, as it used to be so far, the department and branch division. Also, the number of departments and offices was reduced by some one-third.

The Council of Ministers adopted regulations defining the forms and course of functioning of the state administration local bodies and their offices.

Another point of the agenda was the adoption of a draft ordinance that amends the ordinance on foster families.

Finally, the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution to the effect that the Polish Post comply with the general regulations of the Universal Postal Union and the final protocol of the universal postal convention.

Finance Minister Interviewed

LD142120 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] [Announcer] The Council of Ministers met today. The results of the referendum and the Sejm resolution influenced the decisions the government made today. These decisions concern the near future, next year that is, of our country's economic and social life. This session can certainly be counted among the most important this year. The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on the Central Annual Plan. The budget guidelines and a draft Sejm resolution on the states' balance of payments for next year were also adopted. Moreover the Council of Ministers dealt with the credit plan, together with the balance of the monetary income and expenditure of the population, as well as the guidelines of monetary-credit policy.

Concerning next year's finances, I am speaking to Finance Minister Bazyli Samojlik. Will there be budgetary equilibrium next year?

[Samojlik] It will be very difficult to achieve budgetary equilibrium for various reasons, the (?details) of which there is no time to speak here. At any rate, at this stage we have done everything to minimize the lack of budget equilibrium, to minimize the negative balance.

Reckoning in zloty, in nominal terms it will probably be negative in 1988 as well. At least, we will take such a draft to the Sejm. But it will not be much lower than in the current year.

[Announcer] I know that from the very beginning when you took over the Finance Ministry you have been an adherent of the disappearance of budgetary subsidies. You have not been very successful during this period. Will this be possible next year?

[Samojlik] Yes. You know, the case with the subsidies is like this: In a short space of time, the only way of reducing subsidies is to have higher prices. It is very difficult to reconcile prices with such a simple manner of solving the subsidies problem. The problem must be solved over a long period of time.

We, at least, are approaching the matter in such a way that we are trying to maintain a nominal level of subsidies. From our assessments of the draft budget law, it arises that there will be a relative fall in subsidies. That means the relation of subsidies to the national income, to the budget expenditure, and to enterprises' sales income will certainly be lower than in 1988, sorry 1987. On condition, however, of course, that this draft or the intention in the prices sphere will be fully implemented, the (?area) on which we base the budget law.

[Announcer] Returning to the results of the referendum:

The government, in the central plan for next year adopted today, has decided, in accordance with the results of the referendum, to tone down [zlay odzic] the solutions in the sphere of prices and incomes policy.

The rise in retail prices, taken as a total—which will occur after 1 January 1988—has been defined as 27 percent. This will happen, of course, while maintaining at the same time the principles of compensation, in accordance with the adopted solutions, about which we reported broadly before the referendum.

And a few more items of information taken from the Central Annual Plan. The national income will grow by more than 3 percent. Deliveries to the market, measured in the total quantity of goods, will grow by 4 percent.

In keeping with social needs, there is to be a rapid development of the pharmaceutical industry, a growth in production of more than 13 percent. And in accordance with what the voivodships have entered in their own plans, a total of more than 200,000 apartments ought to be built next year.

So much for now, on the newly adopted Central Annual Plan.

Wojna Speaks on Reform, Referendum in Sejm
AU141814 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
7 Dec 87 p 2

[Report on speech by PZPR Deputy Ryszard Wojna in the 5 December Sejm debate on the 29 November referendum]

[Text] The campaign preceding the referendum and the referendum results have helped to clarify our country's image in a remarkable way. Large segments of our people feel that something very important has happened. Our citizens have realized that their views are important and that they can directly influence the lines of government policy.

Insofar as really believing in the intentions of the party and its allies is concerned, this method of affirming that the reality of the democratic processes in our country is no dream was for many people much more important than whatever had previously been written in all the editorials of our press.

The referendum results have opened a new stage in our practice of democracy. We all continue to learn the rules of the game that are new for us. Let us therefore clearly state: Socialist democracy has a place for all who respect its rules. That is why everyone, and not only the governing forces, should chew on the referendum results.

Extensive segments of our society help to organize our reforms. The only automatic restriction is that one must respect the meaning and purpose of the changes taking place in our country before one may help to determine the nature of these changes. Those who do not agree with the direction of economic and political changes exclude themselves from the process of codetermining the goals of People's Poland.

In this context I would like to cite from the Politburo report: Our strategy of socialist renewal has no place in the dogma-impregnated and obsolete Stalinist model of socialism, with the remains of which we must part once and for all.

This was said before the referendum and will be implemented after it.

Interviewed on 5 Dec Speech
AU141912 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 Dec 87 p 3

[Interview with PZPR Sejm Deputy Ryszard Wojna by Jadwiga Mikolajczyk: "Respecting the Meaning and Purpose of Current Changes in Poland Is the Condition for Being Able To Codetermine These Changes"—date and place not given]

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU has asked Deputy Ryszard Wojna, vice chairman of the PZPR Club of Sejm Deputies, to comment on some features of his interesting speech in the 5 December Sejm debate.

[Mikolajczyk] In your Sejm speech on the referendum results you said that "one cannot cross a river without getting his feet wet." What did you have in mind?

[Wojna] It is impossible to carry out without conflicts such thorough changes in the economic and sociopolitical mechanisms as those included in the program of our reforms. These changes are inevitably bound to produce features of disorganization—I hope of short duration—in the functioning of many offices and institutions and to develop the difficult process of creating new economic links, of transforming contacts, and so on. All this continues to take place, following the transformation of the structure of government. The reorganized ministries find it more difficult to solve many problems. This is the temporary price of reorganization.

However, what primarily interests our people is the costs of the reform in the shape of the results of transforming the structure of prices and wages. All common-sense people know that these results are necessary and inevitable, and yet they are afraid what these results may mean for themselves and their families. The referendum results reflected these fears. However, the Sejm deputies, who naturally represent society's overriding interests, must assume the burden of responsibility for the decisions proposed by the government, including the decisions that not everyone accepts. That is why I began my Sejm speech by saying: "The political forces represented in the Sejm of the ninth term have an historic task to fulfill, namely, to take Poland across to the other bank of the great river of reforms." To get one's feet wet means in this case to have to reckon with hardships involved in crossing to the other bank before the new economic, self-management, enterprises, and other mechanisms begin, let us hope, to operate automatically to a great extent. [Mikolajczyk] Do you think these fears of the difficulties and social costs of the reform were the main reasons for the referendum results?

[Wojna] The issue is much more complicated, and I said so in my Sejm speech. First of all we have to leave out all those who did not vote or who said "no" to both referendum questions. Such people are indifferent to public concerns or wanted to demonstrate their refusal to come to terms with the difficult conditions of daily life. For those who organized the referendum the number of nonvoters or of those who voted "no" is an important item of information. Still, we also know that in some communities political motives were the decisive factor.

We have in our country various small and not so small groupings, which are at times quite noisy and which stress the need for thorough changes of the economy and political life, but which turn this need into an instrument of the ruthless political struggle directed against socialist renewal in our country and aimed at pushing the governing forces to the positions before 1980. This is a strangely motley crowd: Narrowminded people, who are ferocious in proclaiming their demagogic slogans, rub

shoulders with coldly calculating strategists of antisocialism, and the adversaries of our system, who say that it cannot be reformed, stand side by side with the blackest conservatives, the conservatives who believe in pseudo-red dogmatism, who have entrenched themselves in the unassailable socialist positions of red tape, and who irritate the people by counting on another rotation of the governing elites. How magnificently do these people complement one another!

That is why we treat in the same way all those who try to hinder our reform, no matter what reasons they have for this. At one time, we were rather tolerant of dogmatist motivations because we thought them to be based on ennobling ideological ideas, but today we have to say that, objectively, these motivations are as harmful to socialism as the right-wing attempts to blockade the reforms are. But for me the most important and so to speak the creative result of the referendum is the fact that the individual citizen of People's Poland has become convinced that his view as expressed on the ballot card was of real significance and had a direct influence on the line of government policy. I think that this conviction is certainly more important for the future of socialist democracy in Poland than the very results of the referendum.

[Mikolajczyk] AFP published the sentence from your speech about those who "exclude themselves" from codetermining the lines of Poland's development.

[Wojna] I used this sentence in the following context: Socialist democracy has a place for all who respect its rules. That is why everyone, and not only the governing forces, should chew on the referendum results. Extensive segments of our society help to organize our reforms. The only automatic restriction is that one must respect the meaning and purpose of the changes taking place in our country before one may help to determine the nature of these changes. Those who do not agree with the direction of economic and political changes exclude themselves from the process of codetermining the goals of People's Poland. I belong to those people who think that a very severe political battle will have to be fought for the realization of our reforms.

[Mikolajczyk] How far was the sixth Central Committee plenum instrumental in influencing the 5 December Sejm debates?

[Wojna] Many speakers from the floor—party and non-party—referred to this influence. Let me cite what I said on this issue: The communique published after the first post-referendum session of the Politburo stated that "the party will not leave the road to socialist renewal." Our party, I said, which in the course of 100 years continued to grow through its efforts to resist the wrongs done to man and continued to refuse to come to terms with the previous state of affairs, now continues to rehabilitate within itself the meaning and taste of vanguard activities. [punctuation throughout as published]

The Politburo report to the sixth plenum stated that we want to create "a Polish model of social, economic, and political life." Some people keep asking us for the meaning of this. The answer to this question has continued to be clearly formulated and gradually implemented since the ninth party congress in 1981. In this context it is worth considering the following passage of the Politburo report: Our strategy of socialist renewal "has no place in the dogma-impregnated and obsolete Stalinist model of socialism, with the remains of which we must part once and for all." This was said a few days before the referendum and will be implemented after it.

Statistical Office Issues 11-Month Report
LD142224 Warsaw PAP in English
2124 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 14—The Central Statistical Office (GUS) has issued a communique on the economic situation of this country last November. Excerpts:

Over 11 months of this year the sold production of the socialized industry increased at a pace envisaged by the central annual plan. The construction-assembly production and the number of new flats were smaller than last year. The grain procurement rose while the procurement of potatoes and sugar-beet decreased. The figures reached by the procurement of animals for slaughter were similar to the ones achieved in 11 months of 1986. The milk procurement slightly increased against last year. Exports and imports increased in turnover both with non-hard currency and with hard currency zones. The pace of the population's expenses was higher than the rate in which its incomes increased, this being an effect of increased purchases in November this year.

The sold production of the socialized industry in constant prices last November was by 4 percent bigger than a year ago, including the 0.8 percent-growth in the extraction industry and the 4.2 percent-rise in the processing industry.

The sold production of the industry was by 3.1 percent higher between January and November this year against the analogical period last year out of which the production of the extraction industry increased by 0.3 percent and the production of the processing industry—by 3.3 percent.

It is estimated that this year's grain crops reached 26.1 million tonnes, potatoes—36.3 million tonnes, sugar-beet—13.9 million tonnes, rape and agrimony—1.2 million tonnes. In comparison to 1986 grain crops rose by 0.4 percent while the crops of potatoes fell by 7.1 percent, sugar-beet—by 2.1 percent, rape and agrimony—by 8.6 percent.

The purchase of food grain since the beginning of the present campaign till the end of November 1987 amounted to 4.8 million tonnes and exceeded by 1.4 percent last year's figure. The purchase of sugar beets

since the beginning of this year's harvest till December 6 was lower by 2.1 percent if compared with the same period of 1986. This year's autumn purchase of potatoes was also lower than the last year's one.

The purchase of slaughter animals totalled 193,400 tonnes in November and was by 6.9 percent lower if compared with November 1986. In the period January—November 1987 it reached 2,100,000 tonnes, that is 0.2 percent less than in the same period of 1986.

The purchase of milk in November 1987 was by 1.2 percent lower, and in the period January-November 1987 it was bigger by 1.3 percent if compared with the same period of the last year.

Basic production of socialized construction-assembly enterprises in constant prices in November 1987 was lower by 4.1 percent than a year ago (in comparable time of labour it was lower by 8.5 percent). In the period January-November 1987 it was lower by 1.4 percent.

The degree of completion of the central annual plan of basic production in the period January-November 1987 amounted to 85.8 percent, whereas the production of the eleven months of 1986 totalled 90.2 percent of the annual production.

The number of new flats completed by socialized housing construction enterprises amounted to 10,600 in November 1987 and was by 1,300 lower (11.4 percent) than in November 1986. In the period from January to November 1987 the number of completed flats reached 93,000 (including 1,100 flats built as extensions onto houses and attics adapted for living quarters) that is it was lower by 2,100 (by 2.3 percent) if compared with the same period of 1986.

In November exports in fixed prices were greater by 2.7 percent over last year and imports higher by 5.2 percent. In the field of trade with socialist countries exports were greater by 8.3 percent and imports by 1.4 percent. In trade with hard-currency countries exports were lower by 1.8 percent and imports were higher by 10.1 percent.

In the January-November period of last year exports were higher by 4.1 percent and imports by 4.4 percent over the same period of last year. In trade with socialist countries exports were greater by 4.1 percent and imports by 3.7 percent and in trade with hard-currency countries exports higher by 4.2 percent and imports by 5.3 percent.

The degree of completion of the central annual plan after 11 months of this year totalled 89.7 percent in exports and 90.6 percent in imports and in both cases were higher over the same period of last year in which the respective figures were 86.2 percent and 84.6 percent.

Average monthly remuneration in the socialized economy were higher by about 21 percent over last year.

Average pension and disability payments (excluding agriculture) in the January-November period were greater by 33.5 percent as compared with the same period of last year.

The money incomes of the population in November totalled 945 billion zlotys and expenditures reached 961.1 billion zlotys. As compared with November, last year incomes rose by 31.4 percent and expenditures by 47.2 percent.

More on 'Influence' of U.S.-USSR INF Treaty

Sejm Commission Views Summit
AU141800 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
11 Dec 87 p 2

[Text] PAP—The 10 December session of the Sejm Foreign Relations Commission evaluated Polish-U.S. relations.

Referring to the missile accord signed in Washington on 9 December, Sejm PZPR Deputy Jozef Czyrek, chairman of the commission, said that the accord constitutes a breakthrough in the East-West relations and expressed the conviction that the new climate will positively influence Polish-U.S. relations. The commission, he said, joins in the congratulations and wishes that have been sent in the name of our people to M. Gorbachev and R. Reagan. These congratulations and wishes express the most profound feelings of all people who take a responsible view of the fate of the world.

As Vice Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski said, last year had produced many crucial and positive events in Polish-U.S. relations, including the abolition of restrictions affecting our country, the Polish visit by Assistant State Secretary John Whitehead, J. Czyrek's talks in the United States, and the Polish visit by Vice President George Bush. Sejm Marshal Roman Malinowski led a Sejm delegation to the United States and representatives of U.S. Congress visited Poland. Improvements in mutual relations make it possible for Polish and U.S. ambassadors to return to their posts. T. Olechowski also reported on the plans to develop Polish-U.S. relations in the future.

Sejm deputies were pleased to stress in their speeches the facts attesting to the normalization of Polish-U.S. political relations. They also noted that extensive opportunities could be exploited to further cultural and economic cooperation. For example, despite improvements in our trade with the United States, Poland is still far down the list of trading countries.

One more important feature of the commission's discussion was the further promotion of the Jaruzelski plan as a result of the Washington summit. As Deputy Grzegorz Seidler (PZPR) said, we must realize that one of the next stages of the process of disarmament can be the realization of our peace proposals, especially of those that

concern reductions in conventional weapons in central Europe. We must be prepared for this contingency, he said. The deputies also discussed cooperation with the American Poles and efforts to present Poland's correct image to the U.S. community. Deputies Edmund Meclewski (nonparty), Ryszard Wojna (PZPR), Tadeusz Myslik (nonparty), Ryszard Bender (nonparty), Szymon Szurmiej (PZPR), Jan Janowski (SD), Andrzej Trzaskalski (ZSL), Roman Pillardy (PZPR), and Jozef Kukulka (ZSL) discussed these issues.

Jan Kinast, Poland's designated ambassador to the United States, answered deputies' questions about his plans for ambassadorial activities.

Speaking at the end of the session, J. Czyrek said that Polish foreign policy had tried to make its own contribution toward improving the political climate to such an extent as to make it possible to conclude the Washington missile accord. He gave assurances that Poland will continue to constructively act along these lines.

Speaking of Polish-U.S. relations, he said that the development of these relations is in the mutual interest of both countries for historical and political reasons determined by the role of the two states in their respective alliances and for the reasons stemming from many family ties. These relations should be based on the principles of respect, sovereign equality, mutual benefits, and noninterference in internal affairs.

Indicating its praise and support for the development of these relations, the Sejm Foreign Relations Commission expressed the conviction that the Polish centers in the United States will act in line with the aforementioned requirements and needs of Polish foreign policy. The commission also stressed the contribution made by the Polish and U.S. parliaments to the Polish-U.S. dialogue and noted that the Sejm will continue to act in favor of fully restoring the normal character of this dialogue in line with the Polish *raison d'etat* and the good of international relations.

Commentator Sees 'Enormous Value'
AU141623 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
12-13 Dec 87 p 6

[Zygmunt Broniarek commentary: "The Profundity of the Washington Breakthrough"]

[Text] When Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan shook hands at the White House farewell ceremony (on Thursday [10 December], at about 1500 Washington time), we journalists knew that a joint statement about the summit, press conference by Gorbachev, and television speech by Reagan were in store for us that same day. But we did not think this document and these speeches would be so extensive and detailed.

This applies especially to the joint statement and Gorbachev's press conference. When the Soviet leader opened it, he warned us dutifully: My introduction will be longer. During this introduction, Gorbachev said that he was obliged to discuss something in greater detail because "you probably do not have the joint statement yet, whereas I do." Indeed, most of us did not have this joint statement. But even if we had, a commentary by Gorbachev would still have been very useful.

The document is more than just extensive; it is difficult, because each side is to acquaint itself with the other side's defense system "profoundly," as they say here.

The reason for this is a desire to be certain as far as the fundamental matter is concerned, in other words verification. The statement speaks of help by each side for the other side's satellite countries in verifying the agreement.

These and similar points in the statement confirm what Gorbachev strongly accented: We are going far and will go far where verification applies to disarmament. But we will not agree to any steps as a result of which the demand for verification could conceal a continuation of the arms race.

The enormous value of the Washington summit lies in the fact that its documents may also apply to future steps concerning genuine arms reductions (not just a diminishing of the increase in arms), because the summit called for the elimination of two important categories of nuclear weapons—medium-range and shorter-range. In other words, the Washington summit showed that this is possible.

But why has it become possible? Gorbachev explained why when answering a question from Zorin, a Soviet TV commentator, who said that only 3 years ago, the "events that are now taking place before our eyes in Washington would have been considered a fantasy." Explained Gorbachev: This is because people are heading toward a nuclear-free world faster than their governments. In other words, social pressure to use ordinary common sense in international politics is becoming stronger and stronger.

However, there is no doubt that the decisive role in this breakthrough was played by Gorbachev's idea about the need for a new way of thinking. This is pushing its way through to the highest levels of the American governing elite and causing considerable changes there. But how much work and resilience the USSR and Gorbachev himself needed in order to bring these changes about.

One may expect further steps within the framework of these new relations, including ones that have special significance for Poland. I have in mind what the joint declaration described as "reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe in the sphere of conventional armed forces and armaments." The performance of this task would be fully concordant with the Jaruzelski Plan, because "reducing the level of military confrontation" mainly involves the need to first reduce and then eliminate those weapons that are most likely to be used in a surprise attack.

The Washington summit would not have been possible without careful preparation. Gorbachev said so, mentioning Geneva and Reykjavik as decisive stages along the way.

But he also pointed out another feature of the preparatory process: the contribution to this process made by the USSR's Warsaw Pact allies. Particularly significant was his statement whereby the participation of the allies was important "in every stage" of the preparations, wherever "changes and compromises" were made. This is also a feature of "perestroika," but this time in the internal structure of the Warsaw Pact. This was confirmed by the fact that from Washington, Gorbachev went to Berlin to meet with the leaders of the countries of our alliance.

Listening to Gorbachev, one could not fail to be impressed by the connection between authority and psychology. Gorbachev had mastered the subject-matter of the summit completely. He moved around in this subject matter confidently, freely, and lightly. Such an ability is always needed, but even more so today, when television is dominant. This was particularly important in the United States, a country saturated with television. As far as Gorbachev's influence on the psyche of Americans is concerned, it was also important.

Ceausescu Addresses RCP Conference 14 Dec
AU140844 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian
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[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the opening session of the RCP National Conference in Bucharest on 14 December—live]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades: The fifth RCP National Conference will examine the current stage of the development of the Romanian socialist society and how the provisions of the Eighth Five-Year Plan are being implemented. It will also establish the necessary measures to resolutely implement the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advanced toward communism. [applause]

From the high rostrum of this democratic forum of the party and of all our people, I want to extend to all communists and our nation warm revolutionary greetings and best wishes for ever greater successes in their comprehensive activity aimed at an increasingly vigorous development of the forces of production and at raising our homeland to new heights of progress and civilization. [cheers, chants]

The communists and all our people view the national conference proceedings with full confidence and expect that its decisions will supply answers and new guidelines for the complex domestic and international problems in the spirit of the revolutionary concept of dialectical materials and of scientific socialism and will secure bright prospects for the revolutionary struggle to ensure the homeland's multifaceted prosperity, the constant improvement of the material and cultural standard of living for all our people, and the constant strengthening of Romania's independence and sovereignty. [applause]

I believe that the participants in this conference will agree with me in assuring the party and all our people that we will do all we can so that the discussions and decisions of the RCP National Conference fully meet their expectations, that the party's political-organizational and ideological activity is increased even more, that the revolutionary spirit is developed more vigorously in all areas, and that Romania's firm advance on the road to socialism and toward the high pinnacles of communist civilization will be ensured. [cheers, chants]

The national conference is taking place in the year and month when we celebrate the 40th anniversary of the abolition of the monarchy, which symbolized the imperialist and bourgeois-landowner domination, and the proclamation of the republic—the century-old aspiration of the Romanian people — which marked a new stage in the history of our homeland and the transition to building a socialist society in Romania. [applause]

In the decades that have passed since the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and the proclamation of the republic, our country has gone through several historical stages. The fascist dictatorship and the bourgeois-landowner system that divided people into antagonistic classes, into rich and poor, and into oppressors and oppressed have been eliminated. The democratic revolution has been achieved. Beginning with 1948, we began to implement the targets of the socialist revolution. From this, exploitation, oppression, economic, social, and national inequalities were eliminated for good, thus ensuring the complete freedom and equality of all our homeland's citizens. [applause]

In a historically short time, great revolutionary changes occurred in all socioeconomic areas. Romania has overcome the backwardness that characterized it as a result of the policy practiced by the exploiting classes and imperialist domination and has turned into an agrarian-industrial country with a modern and powerful industry organized on the basis of the most modern achievements of technology and science, with a socialist agriculture in full progress, and with a vigorously developed science, education, culture, and material and cultural standard of living for all our people. [applause]

The proceedings of the National Party Conference are taking place amid very serious and complex international circumstances that affect the whole political, economic, military, and social activity, as well as the peace and the security of all humanity.

Amid the complexities of domestic and international problems, the national conference is called upon to thoroughly and scientifically examine—on the basis of the revolutionary concept about the world and life, scientific socialism, and in a critical and self-critical spirit—the activity carried out so far and to draw the conclusions and lessons from the overall experience of socialist construction in our homeland and from the world experience in general and to supply answers to the problems raised by the current stage of our country's socioeconomic development and by the world development itself.

At the same time, the great democratic forum of the Romanian Communists must establish clear and firm measures and guidelines in a revolutionary spirit that will ensure the complete implementation of the 13th RCP Congress decisions and the vigorous development of the forces of production, the development of science, education, and culture, an improvement of the activity in all socioeconomic areas, and a more vigorous increase in socialist ownership, of the national wealth, and the fulfillment of the strategic targets aimed at our homeland's transition to a new stage of development. The whole activity regarding the preparation of the national

conference, and its proceedings is a telling expression of party democracy and its decisive activity to strengthen and develop workers revolutionary democracy in our country.

As is well-known, the national conference was preceded by extensive discussions in the party about the most important problems of the current socioeconomic development of Romania and of the party activity. At the meetings of the party organizations, at the city, municipal, and county party conferences, which took place before the national conference, a thorough critical and self-critical analysis was made of the activity in all areas, and both the existence of certain failings in various sectors of the socioeconomic activity and ways to improve and perfect all activities were seriously discussed. Similarly, numerous proposals were made to increase the role of the party organizations and of the Communists in the overall work of building the socialist society in our homeland. It can be said with good reason that the discussions were vigorous proof of the determination by the communists and all working people, irrespective of nationality, and by all our nation to do all they can to resolutely implement the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state and to ensure our homeland's firm progress on the road to socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

That is why we can say that the conference delegates have brought here the collective thoughts, will, and determination of the communists and all our people, who—in a spirit of full unity and with profound trust in the results of this great democratic party forum—expect it to adopt decisions and guidelines that can give new revolutionary prospects to developing Romanian socialist society, raising our fatherland to new peaks of progress and civilization, and ensuring our progress to the high peaks of the most superior society in the world—communism! [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in the period since the victory of the revolution for social and national liberation, that is in the period of socialist construction, Romania has turned, as I already said, from a poorly developed country—which, according to certain ideologists of the exploiting classes, should have stayed a predominantly agrarian country—into a developed industrial-agrarian country. The forces of production have registered a strong development. We completed large industrial enterprises and platforms in all areas of the country and developed new and important industrial branches equipped with machines and equipment up to the level of the most advanced technological achievements.

Today, industrial production is 120 times higher than in 1945: the chemical industry increased by more than 1,200 times; the metallurgical industry, 113 times; the machine-building industry about 500 times; light industry, 82 times; and the food industry, 32 times. Likewise, we strongly developed transportation and other sectors of activity. We completed large construction projects in

this period, such as industrial and housing units, schools, hospitals, various urban development establishments, and other large-scale projects of national interest, including the Danube-Black Sea Canal. [applause]

Agriculture, which is organized on socialist bases, has also experienced great changes. Agricultural production is almost 9 times higher than in the past. An area of more than 3.5 million hectares was irrigated, and other important land improvement operations were completed, in order to increase the productive potential of the soil. On this basis, we scored great results in increasing agricultural production and changing the aspect of our villages and the life of all peasants.

At the same, we strongly developed scientific research, education, and culture, which are basic elements of the entire socialist development of our fatherland. We are successfully implementing the goals of the new scientific-technical revolution and of the new agrarian revolution.

Great social changes in the structure of classes and in the relations between classes have taken place in this period. All these great achievements have changed the face of our cities and villages and of the entire country. On this basis, we greatly increased the national income by about 33 times, the national wealth, by about 20 times, and remuneration, by about 13 times. In addition, we continuously raised the material and intellectual well-being of all the people, which is the supreme goal of the party policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society we are successfully building in Romania. [cheers, chants]

There are several stages in this huge process of revolutionary change. In the first years after the revolution for social and national liberation, concurrently with Romania's active participation in the war for liberating the fatherland and crushing fascism, we proceeded to rebuilding the economy, which has been destroyed by the war, and to implementing certain social reforms and the agrarian revolution. Several forms of ownership developed in that period: the capitalist, state socialist, and cooperative ownership; however, capitalist ownership was the economic foundation at that time.

The year 1948 marked the implementation of the socialist revolution. With the nationalization of industry, banks, and other means of production, we liquidated the bourgeois-landlord system and proceeded to developing industry and other sectors on socialist bases. We carried out the cooperativization of agriculture, a process which took a long time to complete — from 1949 up to 1962 — and organized all socioeconomic sectors on socialist bases. One can practically say that this period has lasted for almost 20 years. This is how long it took to organize the state and cooperative property and all socioeconomic sectors on socialist bases, which ensured the victory of the first stage of the socialist revolution.

In spite of all these important achievements of the Romanian economy, our fatherland continued to be a country with a poor development level. In 1965, the Ninth Party Congress gave priority to the problem of developing industry and other branches at a fast pace, strongly increasing agricultural production, and consolidating the overall socialist economy. This activity required some 10 years. In this period, we intensively developed the forces of production throughout the country, something that facilitated our transition to a new stage of Romania's socialist development, namely the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society, which must ensure the strong development of the forces of production in all fields and of all branches of activity, a period which will probably end around the year 2000.

All these stages are a single whole of the process of Romania's socialist organization and development, which must ensure the commendable implementation of the socialist principles of work, life, and remuneration and a high overall level of civilization and culture for the entire nation. [cheers, chants]

Concurrently with the strong development of the forces of production, we paid particular attention to improving management and social relations and strongly developing the revolutionary workers democracy, which are decisive factors for our successful progress along the road of socialism. Today, Romania is at a decisive point, namely the superior stage of building a comprehensively developed socialist society and creating conditions for a transition to building the communist society. According to the 13th Party Congress decisions, in order to attain this goal, our country must outgrow the stage of developing socialist country by 1990 and must proceed to a new and higher stage of a medium-developed socialist country. [applause]

However, one should mention the fact that, from the viewpoint of its per capita production, Romania has already equalled the level of many medium-developed countries and, in several important industrial spheres, has even equalled the level of some highly developed countries. All this guarantees the necessary conditions for successfully implementing by 1990 the strategic targets established by the 13th Party Congress. [applause]

At the same time, on the basis of the party program and of the long-term guidelines up to the year 2000, we will implement all targets for greatly developing the forces of production, industry, agriculture, and all sectors of activity. Romania will become a country with strong industry and agriculture—on par with the level of the developed countries—and will ensure the overall progress of all sectors. This will entail the harmonious and comprehensive development of the entire society, thus creating ever better working and living conditions for all Romania's citizens and other opportunities for the full assertion of their human personality. I am primarily referring to the development of the forces of production, industry, and

agriculture, because, from a social viewpoint—by implementing the socialist principles of ownership, distribution, ethics, and equity—Romania is far ahead of the most developed capitalist countries. Only when the party program has been implemented around the year 2000, that is, over a period of 50 years, will we be able to say that we have built a comprehensively developed socialist society and will socialism be able to strongly assert its superior characteristics in the economic and social spheres, in the field of material and intellectual well-being for all the people, and in all facets of our society's development. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the 13th Party Congress has established the strategic goals of Romania's development in the Eighth 1986-90 Five-Year Plan, which must strongly expand the forces of production, intensively develop industry, agriculture, and other sectors, achieve new quality of work and life, implement the new scientific-technical and agrarian revolution, and ensure Romania's transition to a new stage of socioeconomic development, namely the stage of a medium-developed socialist country.

In the first years of the 5-year plan, we have scored certain important results in industry, agriculture, and other socioeconomic fields. Industrial commodity production increased by more than 10 percent and agricultural production by almost 20 percent. Labor productivity and the national income registered an important increase. As is known, in 1987 we adopted special programs on scientifically modernizing and organizing production. We also established new socioeconomic standards that can ensure the firm implementation of the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing in all spheres of socioeconomic activity.

However, we must openly say that the achievements of the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan fall short of plan provisions and of the Romanian economy's real possibilities. A number of very serious shortcomings became evident, particularly this year, in ensuring the commendable development of the production process and the operation of installations in enterprises at the planned capacity. As a special report on these problems was submitted to the National Conference, I will not dwell upon them now. But I deem it necessary to emphasize that, in view of results from the first 2 years of this 5-year plan, we should take resolute steps to speedily eliminate negative states of affairs in all spheres of activity and to commendably fulfill the 1988 plan and the entire 5-year plan, with a view to unswervingly implementing the provisions of our socioeconomic development plans and programs, which are decisive elements of implementing the party program.

First of all, we should take all steps to commendably fulfill production tasks in the oil and mining fields and ensure the smooth functioning of the national energy grid, by fully implementing all investment and other programs on modernizing activities in the oil, mining,

and energy industries. Next year, we must commission all productive capacities and attain planned parameters. We must do all we can to commission the first nuclear energy units. We must pay particular attention to improving activities in the steel and metallurgical industries, chemistry, and petrochemistry, by fully implementing existing modernization programs and attaining the planned production for each of these sectors.

I would particularly like to emphasize the need to improve the activity of the three ministries in charge of machine building, to unflinchingly implement the established programs, and build machines and equipment with a high technical and qualitative level, with a view to supplying the national economy with the most advanced technology and increasing the contribution of these branches to our exports. It is also necessary to take firmer steps to ensure the modernization and proper functioning of the light industry and all consumer-goods producing sectors. In this respect, I would also like to stress the need to improve the activity and raise the quality of the production turned out by the construction-materials industry.

Although light industry has registered an important increase this year, I would like to stress the need to continue to pay full attention to implementing the established programs for the development and diversification of food production and for the achievement of better and better quality products. We should also pay greater attention to properly organizing and operating the transportation sector, particularly rail, river, and maritime transportation.

In 1988, all programs for the organization and modernization of production should be implemented, as they are a decisive element of fulfilling the targets of the current 5-year plan. We must properly understand that 1988 is the decisive year for implementing our programs on the overall modernization and development of all sectors of activity. [cheers, applause]

Firm measures are necessary to improve quality and to constantly improve the technical standard of the production process. As is well-known, this year we have not only not applied the measures to reduce the consumption of raw and other materials, but there has even been an increase in consumption in almost all sectors of activity. Firm measures are necessary to ensure a rational and scientific use of raw and other materials, to constantly observe material and energy consumption norms, and to work out new technologies and measures to reduce consumption even more. In conformity with our norms, we must ensure the recovery and reuse of materials, of parts, and subassemblies, and their reconditioning and reuse. Firm measures are also necessary to appropriately organize the production process and labor, to introduce new technologies and automation, and to increase labor productivity even more—decisive factors to increase the

efficiency of all our activity and for ensuring the conditions for our country's overall development and for improving the material and cultural standard of living of our people.

All socioeconomic units must carry out their activity on the basis of the principles of self-management and self-financing and must ensure a vigorous increase in economic efficiency. All this requires the complete elimination of shortfalls and of the negative situations that have been noted this year. It also requires an increased sense of responsibility, discipline, and order and appropriate measures, so that all party and state bodies, all bodies of the workers revolutionary democracy, and all working people—as producers and owners—play their role in implementing the plan and the programs for our homeland's socioeconomic development under the most favorable conditions. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in agriculture we have achieved positive results in the past 2 years in general. We achieved 30 and then 31 million tonnes of grains. Important increases have also been achieved in the other agricultural products. Despite all these positive results, there were and still are a number of problems in this sector. Therefore firm measures are necessary to resolutely implement the targets of the new agrarian revolution, to vigorously increase vegetable and animal production in conformity with plan provisions and with the development programs for each sector and branch.

As the 13th RCP Congress decisions stipulate, we must focus on considerably increasing grain outputs, vigorously developing vegetable growing, fruit growing, and vine growing. Next year we have to achieve yields of some 35 million tonnes of grains, more than 10 million tonnes of vegetables, and large outputs in all vegetable products. We must vigorously increase livestock and especially animal products such as milk, meat, and (?wool). This requires the firm application of the results of scientific research in agriculture, the optimal use of the material, mechanization, and chemicalization base available to our agriculture, and the complete implementation of the program for land improvement and for efficiently making use of all irrigation facilities. Let us do all we can so that 1988 will be a decisive year in implementing the targets of the new agrarian revolution. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, to fulfill the 1986-90 5-year plan targets, we have envisaged investment funds of more than 1.2 trillion lei. We have proceeded from the need to continue to allocate some 30 percent of the national income for the accumulation fund and for socioeconomic development. It is also a decisive factor for our homeland's progress in general. I would like to mention that the funds we have allocated for the current 5-year plan stipulate a cut in what we envisaged initially, that is some 200 billion lei, by reducing investment costs while achieving all investments stipulated in the 5-year plan.

In the past 2 years of the current 5-year plan, we achieved an investment volume of almost 5 billion lei. Some 450 new production capacities have been put into operation. Similarly, important housing construction has been carried out, and social establishments, hospitals, cultural institutions, and civic establishments have been built.

In our homeland's capital, extensive modernization and town planning activities have been carried out such as the new political-administration center, the subway, and the Dimbovita river project. By the year 2000, we will complete the modernization process in Bucharest in general, so that it will turn into a powerful and modern capital of Socialist Romania. [cheers, chants]

Despite all this, we still have serious shortfalls, especially in achieving our investments in industry and agriculture and in putting into operation all production capacities on schedule. In conformity with the 13th RCP Congress decisions, we must seriously channel investments toward implementing the programs for modernizing and equipping production with new and highly technical machines and equipment by substantially reducing the share of construction work within the total of investments. We must take all necessary measures to eliminate anarchistic tendencies that are still obvious in various sectors, namely to spend material and financial resources for the construction of bureaus and other units of which there is no shortage instead of securing highly technical machines and equipment.

Taking into account the shortfalls noted so far in investments, we must take all necessary measures to make sure that in 1988 all planned projects will be put into operation, that planned parameters are achieved, and that all installations and equipment operate at full capacity. We must act with great determination to reduce construction expenditures, in order to ensure that the tremendous funds and those made available by the state will contribute to the vigorous development of production capacities, to improving the technical standard, and to increasing material production and national income—the only way to ensure our homeland's development in general, and a constant increase in the material and cultural standard of living of our people. [cheers, chants]

Firm measures are necessary to resolutely implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress on the smooth and balanced development of all counties and areas in our country by rationally developing industrial and agricultural projects and small-scale industry, public services, and other branches. In this sense, it is worth mentioning the great achievements of socialist construction. All areas of our country were developed by building some 180 new industrial platforms and vigorously developing those we have by creating at least 4 or 5 industrial centers in each county and by appropriately developing the industrial-agrarian councils, agriculture, and other activities.

Compared with 1968, when we reorganized our homeland's counties, localities, industry, agriculture, and other industries, we increased in the various groups of counties as follows:

In 1968 we had seven counties with an output of up to 7 billion, [Ceaurescu corrects himself] 20 billion; 26 counties with outputs of (?20)–40 billion. There is no county with such outputs today. [word indistinct] six counties with outputs of 40–60 billion. Now only one county has achieved this output. In 1968 there was one county with an output of 60–80 billion, while now we have 8 such counties. Now we have 17 counties with outputs of 80–100 billion. In 1968, we did not have any county with outputs exceeding 100 billion, while now we have 15 such counties. On the basis of undeniable facts, this demonstrates the correctness of our party's policy regarding the smooth development of the forces of production throughout the country as a decisive factor for our overall development. [cheers, chants]

On the basis of the correct distribution and balanced development of the forces of production throughout the country and the per capita output, we have ensured fully equal rights for all our homeland's citizens, the vigorous development of new industrial centers, and new industrial-agrarian cities and localities. What is essential now is to resolutely implement the targets of the 13th RCP Congress and the party program that ensures all necessary conditions for the comprehensive development of all counties, cities, and localities in our homeland. In the socioeconomic development of all areas of our country, it is necessary to pay special attention to ensuring the ecological balance of nature, to act with great determination against pollution, to preserve clear and pure water, to protect our forests, to develop new green areas, and ensure clean air. Preserving nature and ensuring an ecological balance are an indivisible and organic part of particular importance in the process of socialist construction in Romania. [applause]

We must work with great determination to implement the programs for town planning, for organizing towns and communes, for reducing construction areas, and for modernizing cities, especially communes, so that by 2000 we will complete these programs in villages in general. This will ensure a change in the image of our entire homeland; it will bring the working and living conditions of villages closer to those in cities, it will strengthen the alliance between the workers class, peasantry, intellectuals, and among all categories of working people even more, it will accelerate the process of homogenizing Romanian socialist society and will eliminate the essential differences between cities and villages, between various social classes and categories, and will create a uniform society of working people—the conscientious builders of socialism. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in implementing the socioeconomic plans, programs, and the strategic targets of the current 5-year plan, it is imperative for us to vigorously develop

science, education, and culture. We must act with great determination to intensify research and link research even more closely with production and education, to solve the multiple and complex problems of technical progress in the shortest time possible, and to introduce the latest achievements of science and technology into the production process in all sectors. One cannot speak of the implementation of the programs for intensive development and modernization without the strong commitment of science in all areas. We have important achievements, we have a powerful potential in our scientific research. We must strive so that they play an increasingly greater role in ensuring our homeland's overall progress and in implementing the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. Science itself means constantly thinking and acting as a revolutionary. One cannot be a man of science if one is not a good revolutionary in one's own field, and a good revolutionary in the field of changing the world in general.

We must further improve education and the molding of cadres with extensive professional and technical knowledge. We must pay greater attention to perfecting the knowledge of workers, specialists, engineers, and all working people, and to their training for reassignment. Everything we have to achieve presupposes highly qualified people, so that they not only are able to handle technology but also are able to improve it constantly. Also, they are able to play a decisive role in improving the quality and technical standard of products and in the development of our homeland in general.

We will be able to optimally implement the programs for our country's socialist development only if we have a workers class, peasantry, intellectuals, and working people in general with comprehensive professional and technical knowledge. These workers should be characterized by a lofty revolutionary spirit. They, in all circumstances, will adopt the most modern positions in the production process, in science, and in life, and will act as genuine revolutionaries. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, the development of international economic relations, production-sharing, and the active participation in the international division of labor are decisive factors for implementing our homeland's development and for constantly increasing the material and cultural standard of living of our people. It is necessary to act with greater determination to expand and improve foreign trade. We must ensure the vigorous development of production-sharing and specialization. In this, our country plays an important role in CEMA's activity, in implementing the long-term CEMA agreements up to the year 2000, and in improving these agreements so that production-sharing and specialization between the CEMA member countries will decisively contribute to the progress of each socialist country and to the development of socialism in general.

We must vigorously develop production-sharing and specialization with socialist countries that are not CEMA members. We must achieve broad cooperation with the developing countries. At the same time, it is necessary to expand cooperation [word indistinct] and of production-sharing with the developed capitalist countries as well. We must frankly state that, in this case, too, the achievements in foreign trade, in exports are not satisfactory. In the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, serious shortfalls and lags have also continued. All enterprises, all ministries, foreign trade enterprises, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade must substantially improve their activity and increase their responsibility in implementing all targets and tasks entrusted to them.

More determined action is necessary to make better use of raw materials and our people's effort to constantly increase efficiency and foreign economic exchanges. Determined action is also necessary to achieve equitable and mutually advantageous foreign trade. Similarly, we must act with great determination to ensure an even balance of payments, to firmly apply party and state decisions on the elimination of our foreign debts in the shortest time possible. We must work so that foreign trade, collaboration, and cooperation with all states, irrespective of social system, will become an active force for the progress of each country, and to overcome the complex problems in the world economy and ensure the development of each nation on the basis of a policy of cooperation and peace among all peoples in the world. [applause]

Special attention must be given to economic-financial activity and to the proper operation of all enterprises and central departments on the principles of the new economic mechanism: self-management, self-administration, and self-financing. We must vigorously increase economic efficiency, ensure circulating capital to a greater extent from our own resources, and reduce credits in this way. We will continue to allocate some 70 percent of the national income for consumption and 30 percent for the development fund. We will do this by moving from the need to ensure both the resources for constantly increasing the material and cultural standard of living of our people and the funds needed for the development of the forces of production and of society in general. This is the only way to ensure prospects for our homeland's development and to improve the standard of civilization and well-being of our entire nation. [cheers, chants]

All necessary measures must be taken to implement the current 5-year plan's provisions to improve work conditions, health, and the standard of living of our entire nation. We must say with great satisfaction that, in the difficult conditions of the first years of the eighties, our country ensured both the constant development of the forces of production, a job for all citizens in our homeland, and, at the same time, an improvement in the standard of living and in the remuneration of all working people. On the basis of data published in the respective

countries, you are acquainted with the number of jobless in the countries of the Common Market, in the United States, and in other developed capitalist countries, which exceeds 30 million. We can pride ourselves on the fact that we have ensured, and our society will continue to ensure, jobs for all our people and for all young people in our homeland.

In view of the achievements of the first 2 years, of the provisions of the 1988 plan, and of the next years of the current 5-year plan, conditions are created to move toward implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress on increasing real remuneration by about 7-8 percent in the current 5-year plan. On this basis, I propose to the national conference that we should adopt a decision to increase the remuneration of all categories of working people by about 10 percent, beginning with the second half of 1988 [applause, cheers, chants] This increase will be gradually implemented and will be concluded during 1989, so that all categories of working people will receive higher pay in 1990. Similarly, we will examine a pension increase for people with low pensions; the provisions on social income will be implemented constantly. In actual fact, as is known, we have considerably increased children's allowances, in particular, thus implementing the provisions of the 13th RCP Congress on this far ahead of schedule. We will continue to firmly apply the socialist principles of remuneration in accordance with work done. We start from the socialist principle: neither bread without work, nor work without bread, and from the close link between incomes and the results of the work done by each individual. We have to firmly apply the principles of the overall contract system and give concrete shape to the principles of socialist remuneration. We believe that for the current and future stage the current relationship between high and low wages is in keeping with the development of the forces of production, the possibilities of our society, and with the principles of material incentive. We must never forget that, with the firm application of these principles, we must also vigorously develop the spirit of work and solidarity among all working people and a sense of self-denial and devotion to our society's overall development. Let us firmly link general interests to individual interests. Let us constantly move from the fact that only by developing the forces of production and of our society will we be able to ensure the necessary conditions for the firm application of the socialist principles of remuneration, of material incentive, and of constantly improving the country's material and cultural standard. Let us do all we can to ensure the constant development of our socialist homeland. [cheers, chants]

At this national conference, it is necessary to thoroughly discuss the activity carried out in the first years of the current 5-year plan. We must openly and firmly reveal shortfalls and negative situations, and we must draw all necessary conclusions and establish measures to resolutely fulfill the 1988 plan and the overall 5-year plan up to 1990. Let us do all we can to ensure the resolute implementation of the strategic targets put forward by

the 13th RCP Congress, to open up fresh prospects for implementing, by 1990, the party program to build a comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward the highest pinnacles, toward communism. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, examining the current stage of Romanian socialist society and the road traveled in a short historic period, in which our people achieved noteworthy results in all areas, it is necessary for us to draw general conclusions, both from the positive and the negative, and from the shortfalls that have been noted. This is in order to establish the necessary measures to improve our overall activity and ensure firm progress along the new stage of our homeland's revolutionary development. Everything we have accomplished in the vigorous development of our homeland has been achieved through the work of all our people who, under the party's leadership, have traveled a long distance in a few decades, which in the past would have required centuries.

One can state that the Ninth RCP Congress of 1965 marked a new stage in our country's socialist construction. In the past 20 years, we allocated a third of the national income to the development fund. It was necessary to make efforts and be content with less at certain times, in order to ensure our fatherland's rapid march forward along the road of socioeconomic progress. As far back as 20 years ago, I presented to the party and people the need for a high development rate, and we decided to proceed along this road by stressing that, unless we do this, our country's development will lag behind and it will be difficult to recover from this situation.

I can say now that we have chosen a positive and correct road; that we have vigorously developed our homeland and have turned it from a poorly developed country into an agrarian-industrial country. On this basis we have ensured both an increase in the national income, in the national wealth, in remuneration, and in the material and cultural standard of our people. [applause] Anybody can ascertain the current level of development of our country. A simple calculation clearly shows that, if we had not followed this road of development, our standard of living would have been at least 25-30 percent lower than the one we have today. Perhaps in the first years we might have had greater consumption. But, I repeat, taking the period as a whole, Romania would have been left behind in its general level of development and, therefore, the people's general standard of living would have been much behind today's level. On the basis of our experience and of undeniable realities, we can say, without fear of contradiction, that only by following a policy of allocating some 30 percent for development and some 70 percent for consumption, will we be able to further develop the fatherland and continuously raise the people's material and intellectual standard of living standard. [applause]

I consider it necessary to mention here that we were also able to implement these goals thanks to measures taken to curb and even reduce military expenditures. I must openly state before the party and people that, if we had proceeded along the road of heavy military expenditures, we would not have been able to obtain today's results. As a matter of fact, one can see this reflected in today's international life: the countries that spent little on armaments—like Japan for instance, which spent less than 1 percent on arms—have achieved a strong level of industrial development. On the other hand, the developed countries—the United States, for instance—with their huge military expenditures have, according to official statements, found themselves in a very serious economic situation, with lags registered in the sphere of technological development itself. Therefore, our development is closely connected with military expenditures; the future of development itself is linked with the promotion of a rational policy and resistance to becoming involved in the arms race. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, we have given priority to strongly developing state and cooperative socialist ownership. We worked to continuously improve the foundation of our socialist system. Today, our fixed assets are worth some 3.2 trillion lei, of which more than 80 percent have been achieved in the past 20 years; the overall national wealth has reached almost 5 trillion lei. On this basis, each citizen of Romania—in his capacity as owner, together with all the people, of all our fatherland's wealth—owns more than 140,000 lei's worth of fixed assets. We should firmly promote the development of socialist property, by unswervingly implementing the principles of self-management and self-administration. We must increase the sense of responsibility of working people's collectives, in their capacity as owners and producers, in administering part of the overall wealth of the nation entrusted to them. All these achievements prove convincingly and tellingly the correctness of our Communist Party policy, which has creatively applied and continues to apply general laws and the principles of scientific socialism to the realities prevailing in our fatherland. We have proceeded and are setting out from the fact that socialism is being built under conditions that differ from one country to another and from one stage to another, that there is not and there cannot be a single pattern for socialist construction, and that each party and people must choose independently and freely the road of its development and of building the socialist and communist society. [cheers, chants]

We have always proceeded from an understanding of our realities and of our country's potential. At the same time, we have also studied and will continue to examine the experience of other states and peoples in building socialism, as well as the experience of overall world social development. We will constantly blend, in a dialectical way, our own experience with the experience of other parties and peoples and with the world social experience, so as to find the best solutions to manifold problems,

while taking into account the basic revolutionary principles of scientific-socialism. In everything we do, we will always bear in mind that we must commendably achieve the socialist society, in its best and most humane form, a society that ensures each nation's well-being. [cheers, chants]

In all our work, we have proceeded from the fact that the establishment of the political power of workers and peasants is just the beginning of socialist construction and that the revolutionary process does not end with this, but it continues in a new form, in each stage of socialist construction. It will continue forever, because only in a revolutionary spirit of revolutionary dialectics will we constantly perfect society, firmly advance toward new peaks and toward the golden dream, and always ensure the freedom and independence of the country. [cheers, chants]

Therefore, in order to implement the party program, we should always act as revolutionaries and strongly develop a spirit of sacrifice and of revolutionary struggle against all that is old and outdated, in order to boldly promote the new and everything that is in accordance with the new stages of development and the socioeconomic progress and to commendably build socialism and communism.

I would like to stress again that everything we have achieved is the result of the self-denying work of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the people, who, in complete unity, under the leadership of our Communist Party, have fulfilled and are unflinchingly implementing our domestic and foreign policy of socialist construction, cooperation, and peace.

We formulated the thesis of socialist construction with the people and for the people. Proceeding from this thesis, we have created a broad democratic framework, which ensures the participation of all categories of working people and all people in consciously shaping their own future.

In the past 20 years, we set up the working people's councils, as collective management bodies of all socioeconomic activity. We have institutionalized the general meetings of working people, who, in their capacity as owners and producers and the true masters of the country, are deciding on and are responsible for properly administering and developing the assets available in all units, and for implementing all socioeconomic development programs. We convened the working people's congress and the peasant congress periodically, every 5 years — with the participation of some 11,000 working people and peasants — the congress of science and education, the congress of education and culture, and so forth, with the participation of thousands of working people from each sector of activity, who decide on basic problems of our fatherland's development.

We have set up national councils for all these fields, as bodies with permanent activity. One can say that we have created a strong system of revolutionary workers democracy, which ensures the direct participation of all categories of working people and of all the people in running all sectors. At the same time, we perfected and developed the system of our representative democracy—the Grand National Assembly, the people's councils, and other state bodies—which, in close cooperation with the bodies of workers democracy, ensures a new, democratic, and unique framework for society's leadership.

We have always attached particular importance to and struggled for the development of representative democracy. We believe that it is an important framework and form, with certain limitations; therefore, we created a new framework, that of direct democracy. We believe that the harmonious blending of these two forms of democratic activity opens up the road for a new kind of democracy, which is much better than any other kind of democracy to date.

We have proceeded and are proceeding from the fact that socialism itself represents and must ensure the broadest kind of democracy and the most appropriate framework for the direct participation of all social classes and categories, and of all people in running society. This form of democracy is in keeping with the requirements of socialism and of mankind's future. [applause]

We will broadly improve and develop the framework of the revolutionary workers' democracy and the most appropriate forms for allowing the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, other social forces, and all the people to openly have their say and directly participate in drafting the domestic and foreign policy, implementing the socialist development programs, building a society in which man will be truly free and master of his destiny, and ensuring the victory of communism, mankind's golden dream. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in managing and improving the entire socioeconomic system, we elaborated new forms of self-management and self-administration, which have led to a great increase in the responsibility of all units and working people. At the same time, we have worked and continue to work to improve the management and planning systems, proceeding from the need to increase the role of the state in consciously and harmoniously running and developing all sectors of activity.

The manifold problems of promoting our socialist society's progress and ensuring an appropriate balance in the development of all branches and sectors cannot be resolved at random or by one or another group of enterprises. These enterprises can and must resolve problems that fall within their direct responsibility and prerogatives. However, the problems of overall development require a uniform policy and management by the state, on the basis of the uniform national plan for

socioeconomic development. We understand the role of objective laws, but they cannot act alone and must be appropriately applied in accordance with the socioeconomic conditions prevailing in each country. We are aware of the role of economic laws, but in this respect it is hard to understand that the resolution of socioeconomic development problems should be left to the law of supply and demand, that is, market laws. So-called market socialism can hardly ensure progress.

We must always bear in mind that the ever-more-complex problems of producing and implementing the latest scientific-technological achievements do not diminish. On the contrary, they increase the role of the uniform national plan, which represents the people's conscious and organized action to harmoniously develop the forces of production and the entire country and society.

In these circumstances, the state cannot possibly renounce its functions. On the contrary, it must fulfill them better and in a democratic way. There is no doubt that the state's functions are changing and improving, but they do not and cannot disappear. Therefore, we should resolutely work to further improve the functions of the state of workers and peasants, to democratize its activity, and also to strengthen the spirit of responsibility, order, and discipline, with a view to ensuring the uniform leadership of all activity and implementing the programs for the fatherland's overall development.

In this respect, I would like to mention the increasing role of the Supreme Council for Socioeconomic Development, as a collective body for planning all activity and for managing society on the basis of the uniform national plan. This implies that drafting the plans for the country's development should be based on the work of this broad democratic body, which comprises the best forces of our society in all fields of activity. The state bodies and the State Planning Committee should, in fact, represent the apparatus, the secretariat, of this council and should carry out its entire socioeconomic planning activity under the supervision of the Supreme Council for Development. It is more necessary than ever to work with the utmost determination to perfect and improve all activity, to increase responsibility, to better organize control, to observe the laws, and to implement decisions, so that each ministry and each central or territorial body can optimally fulfill its role and ensure the unflinching implementation of all development plans and programs. We must do all we can to ensure that the activity of all bodies, from top to bottom, should permanently be under the supervision of the people. These bodies should answer to the people for the way in which they fulfill the mission entrusted to them. It must be well understood that none of the state bodies function above the people; they are in the service of the people and they answer to the people for the way in which they fulfill their mission. But, at the same time, they have great responsibility toward the people to ensure that the country's laws are observed by all the citizens of the country, and they

should not overlook any violation of the Constitution and should make sure that each person works toward the same goal; these bodies should do all they can to ensure Romania's continuous rise to new pinnacles of progress and civilization. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, I believe it is necessary to briefly mention again the national and nationality issues. Romania is a unitary national state. The development of the nation and the creation of the unitary national state have undergone a long historical process. Now, under conditions of socialism, this has acquired new characteristics and new dimensions. Likewise, throughout the centuries, citizens of various nationalities have settled beside the Romanian people, and their whole development is closely connected with that of the Romanian people and of the Romanian nation, and constitutes a uniform whole, together with the whole nation of our homeland. Their future is closely connected with the continuous development of the uniform Romanian national state. In all regions of the country—where Romanian citizens with Romanian or another nationality live side by side—everything that is being achieved is the fruit of their common work. Their future and their well-being closely depends on the unity and close cooperation among them. We can assert with satisfaction that our socialist order and the RCP have achieved the most complete equality of rights, and we can be proud of everything we have also achieved in this field. [cheers, chants]

We are firmly determined to continue to develop solidarity among all citizens of our homeland, regardless of social category or national origin. We are all sons of the same people and citizens of the same country. The future of all our nation is closely connected with the united work of all the sons of the homeland and with the implementation of the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the programs for our homeland's general development. We must fight most decisively against any manifestations of or leftovers from nationalism, chauvinism, or anti-Semitism, and any forms of discriminating against or insulting a person. We should strongly develop the feeling of brotherhood, solidarity, and joint work, as sons of the same homeland. We must most decisively reject any attempts by some reactionary or neofascist circles that try to instigate neofascist, racist, and nationalist feelings in various ways. We must take a firm attitude against the propaganda from abroad, spread by the most reactionary forces, which have always worked to split the working people. They do this in order to be able to better oppress and dominate people. Among all the peoples of the world, we should develop more powerfully the feeling of international solidarity and cooperation with all the socialist countries, in the spirit of full equality, friendship, cooperation, and peace. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, ideological, political, and instructional activity have always played a particularly important role in all activity of socialist construction. The

generation of the revolution for social and national liberation and of socialist revolution and construction can clearly remember the spirit of sacrifice and self-denial demonstrated by the communists and revolutionaries in the years of underground activity, in the years of gaining political power, and in the difficult years of socialist construction. We can state that the ideological, political, and instructional activity indeed played a particularly important role and constituted a true driving force in uniting the efforts of all our nation on the path of socialist construction. In this way, our people have overcome many difficulties by having full confidence in the correctness of this cause and in the victory of socialism. Life has strongly proved that the expectations and hopes of our people have been fulfilled. We have achieved outstanding results. Sometimes people forget what kind of difficulties were overcome. Today, we have working and living conditions that people could not even have imagined some decades ago. At the same time, we must state that a certain state of affairs has been created that has reduced the spirit of self-denial and sacrifice. A certain state of complacency has been reached. There are some people who think that the situation now is such that the spirit of self-denial and revolutionary spirit are no longer required. Unfortunately, even some tendencies toward becoming rich have appeared, as well as other manifestations that are foreign to socialist ethics and equity, and to the revolutionary spirit. One could say that a certain backwardness has been noted in the ideological, political, and instructional level, compared with the development of production forces and of our society in general.

This might be partly caused both by the concern with developing production forces in all sectors of our national economy, and by neglect of political and ideological activity. We must examine this situation most seriously. We should draw the appropriate conclusions and proceed most resolutely to improving political, ideological, and instructional activity, and raising the ideological level of the party, and primarily that of the party cadres. We must never forget that, in order to ensure the implementation of the party program and progress toward communism, we must highly develop revolutionary awareness and continuously raise the political and ideological level and socialist awareness of communists and of all working people. In the new stage of our society's development, the importance of ideological activity, far from having diminished, continues to increase and becomes more and more important. The complex problems that emerge from the great changes that have taken place in our country and in the contemporary world require a broad ideological and political horizon and an understanding and thorough knowledge of the general laws of social development and of the interdependence between various phenomena, both on the national and international levels. In the new stage of the revolution, a more marked revolutionary spirit, struggle, and self-denial are required in all fields of activity. We should focus on the unflinching implementation of the principles of socialist ethics and equity. The

communists and the revolutionaries should place the general interests of society and the interests of all our nation above everything else.

I would like to quote you some lines of an old poem that say that if those who grumble when they fight were to fight on the front lines, they would still appear cowardly, like any coward running away, grumbling and [word indistinct] and wailing is in vain. [applause]

All our political and instructional activity should be based on the party program and the ideological program that represent the scientific, materialist dialectical concept of the RCP and the decisions endorsed by the congress, conferences, and plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee and other documents of our party, as well as the revolutionary principles of scientific socialism. Likewise, intensive propaganda, political, and cultural activity are required in order to raise the revolutionary awareness of all working people. In this respect, an important role is played by all mass media. The press, radio, and television should permanently carry out intensive activity in order to make all working people become acquainted with and correctly understand the party policy and to ensure the implementation of the decisions and observance of the laws of the country. We should improve the activity of mass and civic organizations. We should see to it that the houses of culture, clubs, and theaters play an increasingly greater role in the whole development of the working people's revolutionary awareness. We must see to it that the "Song to Romania" national festival, which is a strong framework for manifesting the creative spirit in all areas, should include all aspects of activity, emphasizing scientific, technological, and cultural creativity, that is, the people's creative power. The creative associations should most resolutely engage in the activity of creating new works with high patriotic and revolutionary content, which make a contribution to asserting the advanced communist concepts and to shaping and educating the new man and our socialist society. More and better novels, poems, plays, should be written that can reflect in various forms the huge creative activity of our people. This should create a powerful vitalizing force of our whole nation's activity. We need new revolutionary and patriotic songs that should reflect the new stage of our homeland's development. Generally, in all our political and instructional activity, we should strongly develop the feeling of love for socialism, for our Communist Party, for the people, and for the homeland. [cheers, chants]

I think that we should assume a firmer attitude toward propaganda from abroad that, in the name of so-called human rights, carries out intensive activity to (?corrupt) and buy technical cadres, in particular, and steals knowledge, as it is called internationally. We must reject and, through the press, radio, and television, expose this activity that, in fact, intends to separate people from their country, to alienate them, and to place them in the service of those who want to exploit their work and their

intelligence. This is not human rights; human rights involves the right to work and study, to live in an apartment, and the right to peace and to be complete masters and free in our country. The Romanian people will never desert the land where they were born. Here, for more than 2,000 years, our forefathers went through many difficulties, but they overcame them. They never complained. They fought to create a nation and a unitary state. This is the place of each Romanian citizen, without any difference. [applause]

Patriotic education is an inseparable part of developing socialist construction and of shaping the new man. In the awareness of the working people and of the youth of our homeland, we should instill a feeling of pride at being citizens of Socialist Romania, being active participants in establishing the most just society on earth, and being permanently on duty and unswervingly serving the people, the homeland, and Romania's independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants] Esteemed comrades, all our great revolutionary changes and the noteworthy achievements in socialist construction and development of our homeland were accomplished under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party, which has honorably fulfilled and continues to fulfill its historic mission as leading political force of the whole nation on the new road to socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

Since the creation of the first workers' party, the Workers Social-Democratic Party, 94 years ago, and the creation of the RCP, 66 years ago, there has never been an important struggle of the workers class and of the democratic and progressive forces in which the party of the workers class did not play an important role as organizer and leader of the social and national struggle and in defending Romania's independence and sovereignty.

During the difficult years of the military fascist dictatorship and during the war, the United Workers Front was created between the RCP and the Social-Democratic party and other workers groupings, which played a decisive role in implementing the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation. Similarly, during the years of the great revolutionary struggles, in the 1944-48 period, the community of the workers class, the United Workers Front played a decisive role in bringing about profound revolutionary changes and social reforms, led to the establishment of the republic, and created conditions for moving to the socialist revolution.

The creation of the United Workers Party in 1948 that united the Communist Party with the Social-Democratic Party established the basis for a strong party that incorporated approximately 1.5 million members and that assumed the responsibility of directing the Romanian people's destiny on the road to building the most correct and just social system—the system in which the workers class played and continues to play a leading role in all areas.

Now, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the United Workers Party and of unity among the workers class, we can state, on the basis of undeniable facts, that without the unity of the workers class and without a united party of this class—the RCP—we would not have been able to accomplish such great results on the road to building the socialist society, improving our people's standard of living, and strengthening the material force of our homeland.

Today, our party numbers more than 3.7 million members, of which 53 percent are workers; 7 percent are peasants; 21 percent are intellectuals and other social strata. Worthy of mention is the fact that the number of female party members is more than 34 percent. We have a positive nationality composition. Similarly, as far as age is concerned some 50 percent of the party members are under 40 years of age; 40 percent are between 40-60 years of age; and the remainder are over 60. Of the total of the new members that have been admitted to the party since the 13th RCP Congress, almost 80 percent come from among the ranks of the Union of Communist Youth. More than 52 percent are women and more than 70 percent are workers. We can say with justified pride that we have a powerful party, closely linked with the basic social classes, the workers, the peasants, intellectuals, and all our people. From the organizational viewpoint, we now have more than 76,000 basic party organizations and 8,330 party committees in industrial enterprises, agricultural units, and institutions. We have party committees in all communes, towns, and municipalities of the country. One can say that there is no socioeconomic unit without a powerful party organization. Throughout our activity, we have acted and continue to act on the fact that in all socioeconomic areas the party must fulfill its historic mission of playing the leading role and ensure the unity of the forces of the whole nation in implementing the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state. The party represents the vital center of our nation, emanating the light and creative thinking that are guiding our people's sure progress on the road to socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

In all our activities we have acted and continue to act [Ceausescu falters] on this. Therefore, we can say that there is no area in which our great achievements do not directly reflect also on the way in which party organizations, communists, and the party have worked and have fulfilled their historic mission. However, we must also say frankly that the sometimes-serious shortfalls and failings that have been noted in one or another area also reflect the shortfalls and failings in the activity of the party program and of the party members.

Now, when we are summing up the great revolutionary changes, when we are formulating the future road up to the year 2000, we must also examine the way in which the party bodies and organizations have fulfilled their role and mission as the leading political force. We must establish the necessary measures to very firmly eliminate

the shortfalls that are still obvious, and we must work to improve and raise the standard of work of the party bodies and organizations in accordance with the new requirements of the revolution, for the resolute fulfillment the current 5-year plan and of the provisions up to the year 2000.

In this spirit, I believe it is necessary to emphasize that the party bodies and organizations did not always work with great responsibility to properly organize and carry out the activity in various areas. The shortfalls in various areas, in industry, agriculture, and in other areas, also reflect the shortfalls in the activity of the party bodies and organizations in those areas. We must frankly say that in some party organizations, including some party cadres in various areas, one could note a spirit of complacency and self-delusion. This exerted a negative influence on the way action was taken to remove the various negative things and ensure the proper organization and progress of all activities.

Gradually an attitude of tolerance and even of covering up some negative things developed, as did a spirit of wrongly understood familiarity and friendship, which often led to the covering up of various shortfalls and to the absence of a critical attitude toward the violation of the party and state decisions and of the country's laws, and to the fact that no energetic measures were taken against those party and state activists who did not appropriately fulfill the tasks entrusted to them.

An attitude of tolerance toward shortfalls, of self-criticism, and of formal acknowledgement of these shortfalls has taken root in various places, without firm action being taken to correct and eliminate them. A certain lessening of the sense of responsibility, of the militant spirit, and of the spirit of discipline and order has been noted in the party and state activity, a lessening, as it were, of the party spirit and of the revolutionary attitude in work. All this undoubtedly exerted a negative influence on and is directly reflected in the shortfalls that have been noted and continue to be noted in various socioeconomic areas, and in the ideological and cultural activity.

Within the framework of the national conference, it is necessary for us to thoroughly discuss all these problems and to draw appropriate conclusions in order to eliminate this negative situation and raise all party activities to match the great tasks facing us in the period to come. In actual fact, on the basis of the decisions put forward by the PEC and in view of some organizational measures that were recently taken because of some serious violations of the party norms and of the country's laws, the discussions within the county party conferences emphatically stressed that we have a powerful active and leadership cadres in various areas who are able to draw the necessary conclusions and work to completely eliminate shortfalls and negative situations.

Openly revealing some shortfalls and negative situations before the whole party and people does not reflect the weakness but the strength of our party, which knows how to examine its work in a critical and self-critical spirit and how to ensure that the party plays its role in society and in leading our nation toward the high pinnacles of socialism under the best of conditions. [cheers, chants]

We must work very firmly to increase the sense of responsibility and the role of each party organization in the proper organization and management of all activities. Let us constantly start from the fact that the party's leading role is not an abstract notion, but must be manifested in the kind of work performed in the party organizations and by each communist. It is necessary to completely eliminate the attitude of complacency, of tolerance, and of easily overlooking certain negative situations, to adopt a firm critical and self-critical attitude, and bring to account all those who violate the Party Statute, the norms and spirit of party work, and the country's laws. Let us ensure the proper organization of work, let us take firm measures to strengthen party and state control in all areas.

It is necessary to work with great determination to ensure the optimal implementation of the party decisions, the application of the country's laws, and the fulfillment of socioeconomic programs. The permanent supervision of their implementation is one of the basic duties of the party and state bodies, and of the cadres in all areas. An important role must be played by the activity of promoting party and state cadres from among the ranks of the most active party members who are determined to work with a revolutionary spirit to resolutely fulfill the tasks with which they have been entrusted. Let us promote party and state cadres in conformity with the provisions of the Party Statute and the country's laws. Let us ensure the assignment of positions in various economic and social areas, including the party, on the basis of competition, and let us apply the provisions on the period of trial and testing.

At the same time, let us pay proper attention to the implementation of the provisions of the Party Statute and of the country's laws on the rotation of party and state activists and cadres by moving them every 4-5 years from one activity to another and from area to another. Let us ensure the performance of broad activity to constantly improve the ideological and political training, the technical and professional level, and the horizon of general knowledge of all party and state cadres.

We must never forget that the complex problems of socioeconomic development require that the party and state cadres learn and study constantly. Without constantly improving one's political, ideological, scientific, technical, and professional standard there is a danger of lagging behind and of not understanding the new problems posed. To be a good party and state activist and to be a good revolutionary, one must well understand that the new requirements of development and the changes

that are taking place are the result of the progress of the forces of production, of science and culture, and of world knowledge in general. We have a powerful and young party which, throughout its activity, has proved that it is honorably fulfilling the historic mission it assumed to serve the Romanian people.

However, the party is now faced with new problems. We must provide new answers regarding the socialist development of our homeland, the constant improvement of management and planning, of workers revolutionary democracy, and of the activity of uniting all our people in implementing great revolutionary changes. To be a revolutionary, to be a professional revolutionary, the party and state activist must always be ready to fulfill any mission, wherever the party, the country, and the people demand this, and must place above all else the general interests of socialism, the interests of the people, and Romania's independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants] One should properly realize that caring for cadres, people, and activists does not mean overlooking their shortcomings and mistakes, but rather taking a firm and critical stand against such deficiencies and helping them to mend their ways, so that they can remain good activists; one should also realize that acting in the spirit of revolutionary humanism characteristic of our party means always adopting a firm attitude and helping people to remedy their ways, while never tolerating those who cannot improve themselves or be up to the tasks entrusted to them. Only thus will we fulfill our duty as communists and revolutionaries. [applause]

We should resolutely work to speedily eliminate negative states of affairs in all fields, to improve all management and planning activity and party work, and to increase the party's leading role in all sectors of socioeconomic life. We must fully realize that fulfillment of the great targets of the current 5-year plan and of the long-term programs up to the year 2000, and the full implementation of the socialism in our country is an important stage of the socialist revolution, which cannot be achieved without a strong party and a high revolutionary spirit of combativeness and exactingness, and without a ceaseless increase in the leading role of the party, each party organization, and all communists in all spheres of activity. [applause]

The development of revolutionary workers democracy does not mean a reduction in the party's role; on the contrary, it means an increase in the party's leading role as the most advanced and conscious force, and as the vital center of the nation, which aims at uniting the whole nation in one a single direction. We are embarking on or, better said, we are continuing to climb a difficult road. I talked about this as far back as the 10th Party Congress. We have to cross yet unknown roads. We have not embarked on and are not going along a paved highway. We had to overcome many difficulties, and we have a long way to go to the high, bright peaks of socialism. Shortcomings still exist and hardships will still appear. However, we must act in a revolutionary spirit to

overcome and eliminate these shortcomings and hardships. We should never be afraid of difficulties. The communists were never afraid. They even gave their lives for the cause of socialism and the people's freedom. In order to fully build socialism and achieve communism, we will require new efforts; however, everything we have achieved thus far is a guarantee of fully attaining these goals. [cheers, chants]

We have a strong technical-material base and everything required to implement our great strategic goals, but, most important, we have a wonderful workers class that is honorably fulfilling its historic mission as the leading class in society. We have a new and strong peasantry which, in close alliance with the workers class, is firmly marching forward along the road of new, socialist agriculture. We have a strong intelligentsia, which is closely linked with the workers class, peasantry, and all the people; our intelligentsia, with its high scientific level, is playing an ever more important role in the entire socioeconomic activity. The workers, peasants, and intellectuals, together with other social categories, fully united within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, must ensure, under the leadership of the party, Romania's firm advance toward the highest peaks of progress, civilization, well-being, and happiness. [applause]

From the high rostrum of the National Conference, the democratic forum of our party and people, let us pledge to do all we can to unflinchingly implement the great targets of our fatherland's socioeconomic development, to always work in a revolutionary spirit, and to devote our entire activity to serving the party, the people, and the cause of socialism and Romania's independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, mankind is traveling through a stage of great social and revolutionary changes and of continuous changes in the international balance of forces. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the creation — 70 years ago — of the first state of the workers and peasants was a historic event that opened up the way to the social and national liberation of nations. During the third decade, this was followed by the struggle of the Chinese people, under the CPC leadership, which led to the achievement of the socialist revolution in China. After World War II, the socialist revolution was victorious in more countries and new socialist countries were created, among them also Romania. Building socialism in 14 countries, totaling a population of over one billion 500 thousand inhabitants, and the great achievements of the socialist countries, which generally were poorly developed, strongly demonstrate the invincible force of socialism and the capability of the workers class, of peasantry, and of the intelligentsia, and generally of all people who have overthrown the old social orders and are consciously building the new system, demonstrating the ability to build a new, better, and more just society in which the nation itself is complete master of its destiny.

For decades, all the attempts made by imperialist reactionary forces to stop or at least slow down the development of socialist countries have failed.

Today, socialist countries hold an important place in all international and political life. They make up around 35 percent of total international production. One can say that there is no important issue in the contemporary world without the active participation in and the forceful say of the socialist countries in finding solutions to all problems. At the same time, in the current period, particularly after World War II, the international colonial system was eliminated. Tens and tens of new independent states emerged. Nevertheless, today there is the old international capitalist system, with its imperialist policy of domination and oppression, and new, neo-colonialist forms are developing and the role of financial-banking capital is increasing. The new socialist system has been created and it continues to develop, the system that eliminated forever exploitation and inequality. Likewise, the group of states called the Third World emerged, in which pre-capitalist forms persist but, at the same time, capitalist, non-capitalist, and socialist economic forms are developing.

The new, general economic crisis is being forcefully manifested in international life, and it is the most profound and the longest, exceeding in magnitude the general crisis of capitalism in 1929-1933. As a matter of fact, one can state that imperialism is going through a new stage, in which financial-banking capital has become the principal form of domination and oppression of other nations. The gap between the ever-smaller group of rich people and the great majority of the people continues to increase in developed capitalist countries. In developed capitalist countries, the number of poor people, of unemployed, of those who do not have any prospects of work or life reached more than 31 million people, which is equivalent to over 8 percent of the active population of the world. This serious social calamity particularly affects youth. The rate of unemployment among people under 25 years of age is over 16 percent. In the international arena, the world is divided into rich and poor. At one end, there is a small group of rich capitalist countries, as a result of the policy of imperialist, colonialist domination and of the financial economic policy of robbery and exploitation, and at the other end there are the majority of the states of the world, more than two-thirds of mankind, who live in poverty and misery.

In the development of the contemporary world, the contradictions between socialism and capitalism continue to be strongly manifested. But, at the same time, the strongest and most important contradiction of the contemporary world has emerged, that is, the contradiction between the developed and developing countries, between rich and poor. It is understandable that this state of affairs, as it is now, will not be able to continue for much longer. One can say that the current general crisis of the capitalist world, the international economic

crisis, cannot be solved without eliminating underdevelopment and without establishing new relations of equality and equity, and without establishing a better and more just world on our planet. [applause]

All these state of affairs and contradictions are a direct result of the arms race, of the huge military expenditures that lead to a continuous worsening of the international economic situation and of the developing countries' situation. Great stockpiles of nuclear weapons have been created in the world. These weapons can destroy mankind and life itself on our planet many times over. This requires, as a vital need, a new way of thinking and a new way of approaching issues of peace and war. This complex situation places new problems before mankind. Clear answers are needed, answers which are in accordance with the interests of development, peace, and freedom, and independence for all nations. Mankind and people rightfully ask, how will the second millennium end, and what do we have to do in order to eliminate the current contradictions and the danger of destroying mankind and life itself on our planet. How should our world look at the beginning of the third millennium, in the 21st century. The future of mankind and the future of each nation depend on the answers given and the solutions that will be reached on the serious and complex problems of our times. Therefore, the RCP believes that we should start from the fact that a world war in which nuclear weapons will inevitably be used is inconceivable. Nuclear weapons, war, the military way be should completely eliminated in seeking solutions to all interstate problems. [applause]

A new way of thinking and a new approach to the subject of developing (?generations), interstate relations, and developing society in general is required. In the new way of thinking, we have to start from the principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and from demonstrating the superiority of one or another system, not through force, but through peaceful competition. The new way of thinking requires an unflinching observance of the independence, sovereignty, and integrity of all countries and complete elimination of interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. Action should be taken in order to provide new prospects for the free assertion of each nation. The new way of thinking should focus on the need to ensure the socioeconomic development of and a continuous increase in the material and cultural level of all nations, and to ensure ecological balance, the forceful development of science, culture, and of a new humanism and democracy, so that people may strongly assert their will to live freely and independently in peace and build their lives in accordance with their wishes. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, accounting for the international activity of the RCP and of Socialist Romania in the past 20 years that have elapsed since the Ninth RCP Congress, we can state with justified pride and satisfaction that our country, we Romanians, have promoted a

consistent foreign policy of disarmament and cooperation with all nations in the world, regardless of social system, and a policy of peace throughout the world. [applause]

In all this period of great social changes and transformations in the international balance of forces, Romania has actively participated, in one way or another, and contributed to seeking solutions to all the major important problems in the world. We have always acted for good cooperation among all socialist countries, to overcome all differences between some of these countries, and to strengthen solidarity and cooperation between them. We have always acted to develop relations between European countries and the other countries of the world. We have had some initiatives and started various actions in this respect, believing that achieving good relations among all countries in the world, regardless of social order, is a major requirement of our times, of detente, and of international cooperation. We have spoken out in favor of finding solutions, and we have carried out intensive activity to find solutions to some conflicts in various parts of the world, starting from the need to solve all interstate conflicts solely through negotiations. We have actively supported the struggle for liberation waged by many nations in Africa and on other continents. We have always worked to strengthen and develop the national independence of all the countries in the world. In international relations, we have always firmly promoted the principles of full equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, elimination of force and the threat of force, and the observance of the right of each nation to develop freely and independently. [applause]

A general characteristic of Socialist Romania's international activity has always been and continues to be an active participation in drawing up various proposals for general disarmament and nuclear disarmament, and for the elimination of all nuclear weapons. It is well-known that Romania's position is against the development of medium-range nuclear missiles, for their total elimination, and for the elimination of all nuclear weapons. We have always worked for the elimination of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order. We made an active contribution at the Helsinki conference for security and cooperation in Europe, as well as in other [word indistinct] and other actions toward achieving new relations in Europe, in the Balkans, and in other areas of the world.

Now we can state with complete satisfaction that events and life—the true and supreme judges—have fully proved the correctness of Romania's foreign policy. [applause]

It is true that Romania's international activity has not always been correctly understood, sometimes not even by our friends. We have frequently heard a reproach for one or another of Romania's actions in the international

arena. Nevertheless, we have always proceeded from what we considered to be in keeping with the interests of the Romanian people, and also with the interest of peace and cooperation between all the nations and all mankind. Looking back over the whole of our foreign policy activity, we can also state from the high rostrum of the National Conference that we have nothing to deny in all we have achieved. If, in an abstract way, we had to redo the activity we have carried out since the Ninth RCP Congress, we would follow the same policy, both in the domestic—maybe, with today's experience we would achieve better results—and in the international arena, we would walk the same road and would act in the same way, because we are convinced that this is fully in keeping with the interests of disarmament, peace, and cooperation, and establishing a world free of weapons and free of wars on our planet. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, moving from the basic principles of our foreign policy and in close agreement with the overall policy and initiatives of the RCP and Socialist Romania, we will resolutely work to expand ties with all states, regardless of social system. We will continue to work to develop relations with all socialist countries and strengthen their unity and solidarity, as an objective prerequisite, so that they can strongly assert themselves in international life and in the resolution of the serious world problems. We will also strongly expand ties with developing countries. I would like to reiterate here, at the Party National Conference, that regardless of the level of its socioeconomic development, Romania, through its own specific system, will always side and closely cooperate with the developing countries. Romania considers this aspect as an important part of its international policy to promote the socioeconomic development of the third world countries, strengthening their independence and national sovereignty, and ensuring the independent development of all nations. [applause]

Likewise, we will continue to expand ties with the developed capitalist countries and all states in the world, regardless of social system, on the basis of principles of peaceful coexistence. We will unswervingly strive to strongly base interstate relations on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, and each nation's right to choose its path of development as it wishes, without any outside interference.

As you can see, I have repeated these principles several times. Once, a leader of a certain state asked me why I have to repeat these principles so often and why one cannot just do this on certain big occasions. I replied that independence is not a matter for big occasions, but rather a matter of life and death, vital for the existence of all nations. Therefore, the implementation of these principles must always be at the heart of our activity and of the activity of all states. [cheers, chants]

In the current complex international situation, Romania has given and continues to give priority in its international activity to the struggle for disarmament, peace,

and a world without arms and wars. We believe that the basic problems of our age are halting the arms race, proceeding to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, thoroughly eliminating all nuclear weapons, removing the danger of war, and ensuring the supreme right of nations and people to existence, freedom, independence, life, and peace. We are firmly convinced that this policy is in full accordance with the interests of our people and all nations and with the cause of international peace and cooperation. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, an event of worldwide historic significance took place recently, namely, the signing of the USSR-U.S. treaty on eliminating a whole series of nuclear weapons—medium- and shorter-range missiles. The signing of the first agreement on the elimination of nuclear missiles is a result of realistic thinking and of grasping the fact that nuclear weapons cannot be used, that there will be no victors in a nuclear war, but only losers, and that the existence of mankind and life itself on our planet will be endangered. At the same time, the signing of this agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States is the direct outcome of the intensified struggle of realistic forces everywhere and of nations throughout the world, who have firmly spoken out for disarmament and for renunciation of nuclear weapons. This victory of a realistic kind of policy and of the action of nations everywhere must give a new impetus to the struggle of the great antinuclear front, the great front of peace.

We must never become complacent. On the contrary, we must intensify our efforts and struggle to reach new agreements on gradually eliminating all nuclear weapons, totally halting nuclear tests, and clearly renouncing the militarization of outer space. In this respect, I would like to emphasize the particular responsibility of European countries, where many kinds of nuclear weapons are concentrated. In view of the danger posed by these weapons for Europe, we cannot comprehend the statements made by certain politicians and states, which state that they will continue to produce and improve nuclear weapons.

Life has shown that, once released, nuclear energy knows no boundaries—as proven by the Chernobyl accident. It will affect us all, regardless of social system, class, or political and philosophical convictions. Therefore, the European states should work resolutely to eliminate all these weapons. The nuclear weapons from a given country do not represent a domestic problem; through the destructive effects of these weapons, they are of concern for all European nations, the entire continent, and the whole world. In the current circumstances, there is and cannot be a more topical problem than totally eliminating nuclear weapons from Europe and throughout the world. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, we must eliminate chemical weapons and radically reduce conventional weapons and military forces and expenditure, in order to achieve a balance of

armaments at an ever lower level. One should also adopt clear verification measures, which can ensure full observance of agreed conditions and agreements reached. In this respect, negotiations between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries should start, as soon as possible, on conventional weapons and forces in Europe. We believe that these negotiations—in which the other European countries should also take part—must lead to a substantial reduction of weapons, by at least 20 percent.

Acting in the spirit of the 13th Party Congress decisions and targets, our country has, in recent years, presented a disarmament program on reducing conventional weapons by at least 50 percent before the year 2000. In line with this policy, Romania has reduced—on the basis of a decision expressed by all the people in a national referendum held in November 1986—by 5-percent armaments and military forces and expenditures. The Romanian people have thus proven their will and determination to unflinchingly work for disarmament and peace.

From the high rostrum of the National Conference, on behalf of the Romanian people, I sincerely congratulate the Soviet Union and the United States on signing the agreement on eliminating medium- and short-range missiles. [applause]

We call on the Soviet Union and the United States and on CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan to continue their negotiations and efforts to conclude a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons, halt nuclear tests, renounce the programs on the militarization of outer space, and resolutely proceed to totally eliminate nuclear weapons in the future. This is in full accordance with the interests of the two great powers and of all nations of the world and with the cause of the defense of peace and life on our planet. [applause]

From the high rostrum of the National Conference, on behalf of the Romanian people, we also call on other European states and nations and on heads of state and government to resolutely commit ourselves and do all we can to eliminate all nuclear weapons from Europe and to act for conventional disarmament, greater cooperation, and for a Europe of friendship and peace, a united Europe of all states, regardless of social system. [cheers, chants]

Such measures will not endanger anybody's security in any way. On the contrary, they will pave the way for negotiations and will express the will of nations to take steps for disarmament and peace. This will be in full accordance with the requirements of European and world public opinion. In our opinion, given the current world balance of forces—in which the Soviet Union and the United States play an overwhelming role—a united Europe can make a very important contribution to resolving all international problems, primarily to bringing about nuclear and conventional disarmament. We

bear great responsibility before our peoples and the entire world for strengthening unity and cooperation among European countries, for doing our best to ensure the future of today's and tomorrow's generations, for securing the existence of our countries' children, and for guaranteeing the peaceful future of all mankind. [applause]

Our country is actively participating in the Vienna conference on disarmament and cooperation in Europe and is determined to do all it can to contribute to the conclusion of appropriate agreements and understandings leading to disarmament, to an improvement of relations and economic, scientific-technical, and other cooperation among the continent's states, and to a united Europe of peace, of democratic and independent development, and of socioeconomic progress for all peoples. The conclusion, with positive results, of the recent Vienna meeting will go down as a very important contribution to developing the process of European security and asserting the new course for detente, understanding, and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

Romania is working firmly to broadly develop cooperation in the Balkans and turning this region into an area of good-neighborliness, peace, and cooperation, without nuclear and chemical weapons and without foreign military bases and troops. We believe that conditions exist for intensifying economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation among all Balkan countries. In this respect, I would like to stress the importance of the proposals made by Romania and Greece on organizing a high-level meeting of Balkan heads of state and government in Bucharest. We believe that the smooth unfolding of the forthcoming meeting of Balkan foreign ministers will have a positive influence on developing relations and on preparing and organizing the high-level meeting of Balkan states, thus making a further contribution to strengthening trust and cooperation in this area.

We also support the creation of similar zones in northern and central Europe, in the Mediterranean, and in other parts of the world.

Comrades, we must openly state that it is not easy to promote a policy of disarmament and peace in the world, that there are still strong forces that are against this policy, and that there are even responsible people who distrust and even fear such a course of disarmament. They are afraid that nations will become so active that it will be impossible to prevent firm embarkment upon the road of disarmament. Therefore, problems of the struggle for disarmament should be given priority in all our activity. The press and all our media should contribute to and develop cooperation with the press and mass media from other states, in order to make even those who are afraid of peace determined to embark upon a peaceful course. We should not be afraid of peace, but rather of war. We should not be afraid of reducing

military expenditures, but rather of increasing them, which means hunger, misery, and unemployment. Only thus can one ensure the well-being and happiness of each nation. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, Romania firmly works to eliminate the policy of force and threat of force, to end all military conflicts in various parts of the world, and to resolve these conflicts and all contentious issues among states through peaceful negotiations alone. No matter how long and difficult such negotiations and talks may be, they are the only rational way to solve contentious problems among states and the only alternative to the use of force and military actions. Romania firmly works for a negotiated solution to the Middle East problems, which can lead to establishing a just and lasting peace in that region, ensuring the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including the creation of their own independent state, and guaranteeing the independence and sovereignty of all states in that region. In this respect, our country has firmly spoken out for the organization of a UN-sponsored international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all interested countries, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and the permanent members of the Security Council.

We also believe that everything possible should be done to bring about an immediate end to the war between Iraq and Iran and to all military actions. One should find a political and negotiated solution to all conflicts between these states, on the basis of the Security Council resolution. We are very worried at the situation in the Gulf, which can lead at any time to an aggravation and expansion of the war. We believe that all foreign military vessels should be withdrawn from the Gulf and one should ensure free navigation in that region, as well as on all oceans and seas of the world.

Romania also supports any actions and initiatives to peacefully and politically resolve problems in various parts of the world — Central America, Asia, and Africa — in the interests of peace and security for all states and nations.

We firmly condemn the racist policy of apartheid and the repressive measures of the South African authorities against the majority of the population in that country. We demand that an end be put to the aggressive actions of this country against African states in that region. We firmly support the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South-West African People's Organization, for Namibia's independence.

Generally speaking, our country actively advocates and supports the people's struggle to eliminate any forms of colonialism and to consolidate the freedom and independence of all nations. Proceeding from the realities of the contemporary world and from the complex international situation, Romania believes that mankind is at a crucial point in its existence. We are convinced that, by acting in unity, the progressive and realistic forces from Europe

and throughout the world, as well as all nations in the world can and will bring about a change in the balance of power in favor of peace and cooperation, and can ensure the triumph of reason and the existence of life on our planet. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, taking into account the serious economic situation that affects all peoples, but especially the developing countries, we advocate with great determination the settlement of the problems of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order, based on full equality and equity in relations between states. The current situation cannot continue when two-thirds of mankind is living in conditions of underdevelopment and squalor. We believe it is necessary to organize an international conference within the framework of the United Nations, which should be attended by both developing and developed countries on an equal footing, in order to work out mutually acceptable solutions for economic problems, including the inordinately high foreign debts of the developing countries, in order to open prospects of eliminating underdevelopment and achieving a new international economic order. Considering the serious foreign debt situation of the developing countries and the extremely high interest rates, we believe that it is necessary to organize an international financial conference, in the shortest time possible, to discuss this problem in particular and to adopt, as an immediate and general measure, a substantial reduction in interest rates that should not exceed 4 percent for all the debts of the developing countries. Accordingly, this reduction should also apply to those who have financed or have deposited money in international banks that provided finances. This would be a general measure and I believe that those who have deposited money in various banks and receive high rates of interest should understand that they have to act in this direction. Such general measures would be a good beginning in resolving the general problems of underdevelopment. [applause]

A global solution to economic and financial problems and the achievement of the new international economic order constitute a requirement for overcoming the current economic crisis, for the stability and balanced development of the world economy, for the socioeconomic progress of each people, and for the policy of detente, cooperation, and peace throughout the world.

The settlement of the complex problems in the international arena requires the active participation — on an equal footing — of all countries, especially of the small- and medium-sized countries, of the developing and the nonaligned countries, which constitute the great majority of the world and are directly interested in a policy of peace, of independence, and broad international cooperation.

It is also necessary to enhance the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies in democratically solving world problems with the broad participation of all states, irrespective of social system. From the

high rostrum of the RCP National Conference, I want to reiterate Socialist Romania's determination to continue to strengthen cooperation with all states and peoples to constructively solve the major problems of the present-day world and primarily to achieve disarmament and peace, and to resolutely work for broad understanding and equal cooperation among nations and to achieve a better and more just world that ensures the free future of all nations. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in solving the major problems of the present-day world and in seeking the best answers to the questions that are posed in connection with the future of the world, a role of greatest importance has to be played by the revolutionary workers movement and the progressive forces that must develop the new conditions, scientific socialism, revolutionary thinking, and provide new prospects for all of mankind. A scientific analysis, on the basis of the revolutionary and dialectical materialist concept and on the basis of scientific socialism, will undoubtedly reach the conclusion that only socialism can ensure a future of peace and well-being for Romania, and that only the unity of all social forces—beginning with the workers class and all progressive forces—in the struggle for socioeconomic progress and for social justice and equality among nations will provide new prospects for solving the complex problems of the present-day world. In the current international situation, an important role has to be played by the communist and workers parties, socialist and social democratic parties, and by all progressive organizations and national liberation movements that must assume responsibility for seeking the way to resolve the current complex problems and look for the road to a free and independent future, for the road to peace throughout the world. [applause]

The RCP has acted firmly and continues to advocate the broad development of relations with all communist and workers parties, and it works to strengthen their solidarity and cooperation. We believe that in past years radical changes have occurred in the relations among the communist and workers parties, in the parties' way of thinking and action, reflecting a new ideological development in conformity with the new realities. Important steps have been taken toward new relations based on the principles of equality, respect for independence and for the right of each party to formulate its own line.

The RCP believes that it is necessary that these principles should develop and affirm themselves with increasingly greater vigor and firmly advocate the development and constant strengthening of solidarity and cooperation among all communist and workers parties, in order to achieve a new type of unity that rules out any interference in the affairs of other parties. In this sense, we view the meetings, in various forms, to discuss the current complex problems and the organization of regional and international meetings on issues of common interest,

especially in the area of disarmament peace and of safeguarding the vital interests of humanity and of nations in freedom, peace, and independence, as very important.

We are broadly developing relations with the socialist and social democratic parties, and with other progressive forces and democratic parties. We believe that in the current international circumstances it is more than ever necessary to strengthen the unity among all these forces—between the Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, and between all those who desire socioeconomic progress and peace. We also advocate the development of a powerful antinuclear front that should incorporate all political and realistic forces, irrespective of political, philosophical, or religious convictions.

As I stated at the Moscow meeting, we support the proposal of the Flemish Socialist Party of Belgium regarding the organizations of a meeting between the Communist, Socialist, Social Democratic parties and other political forces in Europe with a view to discussing the issues of disarmament on the continent, democratic development, and strengthening cooperation and security in Europe. We will continue to develop cooperation with the national liberation movements, with the parties in the developing countries that are struggling for independence and social progress. We will continuously expand relations with the democratic parties and forces, the Christian Democrats and Liberals, and with all progressive forces. We believe that this is a requirement to strengthen friendship and cooperation among all nations and serves the policy of detente and peaceful cooperation and of free and independent development of all nations in the world. [applause]

Although problems in the world are very serious and complicated, we want to express the conviction that the political, workers, progressive, and democratic forces, and the united struggle of peoples in Europe and throughout the world will be able to bring about a change in the trend of events, provide clear prospects for the settlement of the major problems confronting today's world, ensure the victory of the policy of disarmament, of eliminating nuclear weapons, and of cooperation and friendship, and ensure mankind's move to the third millennium under conditions of peace, free and independent development on the road to the progress of each nation. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the RCP National Conference is facing issues of exceptional importance for our homeland's socioeconomic development and for Romania's more active participation in solving the complex international problems of the present-day world. The conference proceedings have to supply clear answers and to work out the necessary measures to eliminate negative situations, to improve activity in all areas, ensure measures to resolutely implement the 13th RCP Congress decisions and to fulfill the Eighth 5-Year Plan, thus

ensuring the implementation of the strategic targets of our homeland's move to a higher development stage and Romania's rise to higher pinnacles of progress and civilization.

Let us do all we can so that the decisions that will be adopted by the RCP National Conference will enhance the party's leading role even more, increase the revolutionary spirit, and the sense of exactingness, militancy, responsibility, order, and discipline in all areas. [cheers, chants]

Let us do all we can so that the RCP National Conference decisions will provide broad prospects for the creative work of all our people under our Communist Party's leadership in order to resolutely implement our domestic and foreign policy, raise our homeland to new heights, and bring about a constant improvement in the material and cultural standard and the general well-being of our entire nation, and strengthen Romania's independence and sovereignty even more. [cheers, chants]

Let us do all we can so that the decisions adopted and all party activities will serve the general cause of the people,

of socialism, communism, peace, and international cooperation. [cheers, chants]

Long live the RCP, the leading political force of the whole Romanian nation. [cheers, chants]

Long live our wonderful people, conscientious builders of socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

Long live our socialist, free, and independent homeland—Romania—and may it constantly develop. [cheers, chants]

May cooperation and solidarity with all socialist countries, with the developing countries, with all states in the world, irrespective of social system, constantly develop in the struggle for progress, for freedom, and for peace. [cheers, chants]

May international cooperation and friendship among peoples triumph.

Long live peace throughout the world. [cheers, chants]

Milosavljevic Meets FRG's Genscher in Brussels
LD142101 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1818 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Brussels, Dec 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Vice-Premier Milos Milosavljevic who is heading a delegation at a session of the Council for Cooperation Between Yugoslavia and the European Community, today met with Federal Republic of Germany Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. They discussed cooperation between Yugoslavia and the E.C. and the future activities of the Federal Republic as chairman of the E.C. beginning January 1, 1988.

Milosavljevic and the Yugoslav delegation also had talks with Claude Cheysson, commissioner for Mediterranean policy and North-South relations of the European Commission.

Milosavljevic and government member Dr Oskar Kovac, in charge of relations with the E.C., E.F.T.A. [European Free Trade Association] and O.E.C.D., had consultations with chairman of the Ministerial Council of the twelve and Danish foreign minister Uffe Elleman Jensen.

Romania Cooperates To Avert Danube Pollution
AU142011 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
4 Dec 87 p 5

[I.T. report: "Without Danube Pollution"]

[Text] Majdanpek, 3 Dec—The Romanians will not build copper and pyrite slag heaps on the Danubian island of Stara Moldava, across from Golubac. A Yugoslav state delegation, led by Nevenka Neralic-Milivojevic, FEC member and president of the Coordination Committee for Human Environment, which was in New Moldavia, Romania, yesterday saw this to be true. Our delegation toured the island on which a New Moldavia combine was planning to build a dump. All work on the dump, a bridge, and pipes has been stopped. However, work has started on two dumps that are no longer in use. Black locusts are being planted on them with the aim of protecting the human environment. Our delegation also toured Kozle, a hard coal refinery, where they saw that industrial waste water is recycled and not allowed into the Danube.

The Romanian side offered assurances that they will not continue work on the existing dump. In the near future, they will prepare a technical-technological study on a new dump and the Yugoslav Government will be informed of this at the right time.

It was agreed that a joint Yugoslav-Romanian commission of experts would be set up which, by 31 January next year, would have worked out a program to survey the pollution of Danube water and mud, the river bank, and food supplies and will inform the Yugoslav and

Romanian public of this. After this, they will begin formulating an interstate agreement on the protection of the human environment and the Danube.

Talks continued today in Majdanpek. Members of the Romanian delegation expressed the desire to see how a copper mine solves the problem of disposing of slag and of protecting the Pek and Saska Rivers. After visiting the Majdanpek mine, both sides expressed a willingness to sign a joint report, with which they would officially take up their agreed obligations.

FEC Proposes New IMF Debt Rescheduling Accord
LD142038 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1712 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—The program of measures and activities for curbing inflation and stabilizing the economy is to a significant degree also based on the assumption that our foreign debts will be rescheduled and additional foreign funds ensured. According to the Federal Secretariat for Information, the adoption of this program and accompanying laws, as well as of the measures which are being prepared for its full realization, has created the basis for negotiations between Yugoslavia and its creditors on long-term rescheduling of our foreign debts.

On the basis of this program, and taking into account the stands of our creditors expressed during previous consultations, the FEC adopted a decision that a demand should be put forward to the IMF for a new agreement on bilateral relations, with the aim that the IMF, as a creditor, with a part of its funds should also join the process of rescheduling Yugoslavia's foreign debt.

Bihac Bank Declared Bankrupt Over Agrokomerc
LD142043 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Bihac, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—Today the bankruptcy council of the High Court in Bihac, presided over by Milica Reljic, decided that the Bihac Basic Bank of Sarajevo Privredna Bank must undergo bankruptcy procedures. In the explanation of the decision it is said that following the well-known promissory notes scandal of the Agrokomerc from Velika Kladusa, in which this bank was involved, it was not possible to financially rehabilitate the bank. Therefore, from now on this bank will be operating as a bank under bankruptcy procedure, while the financial funds of its founders and depositors will be used to pay the claims by its creditors.

This creates an even more difficult position for the economy, the social services, and the population of the municipalities of Bihac, Cazin, Velika Kladusa, and Bosanska Krupa. Around 25 billion dinars of their funds were blocked in this bank in September.

Apart from around a hundred workers of the Bihac Basic Bank, out of around 360 employees, it is estimated that around 7,000 workers in the four mentioned municipalities will lose their jobs.

Judging by the present situation, the most difficult consequences of the promissory notes issued by Agrokomerc will be borne by those who are the least responsible. Sakib Hadzic has been appointed director to manage the bank during the bankruptcy procedure.

Pavlovic Registers as Unemployed

AU111448 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
10 Dec 87 p 12

[B.S. report: "Pavlovic Looks for Work as Engineer?"]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec—We have discovered that Dr Dragisa Pavlovic, until recently president of the Belgrade LC City Committee, has registered at an employment office, submitted his employment card, and is now waiting for a job.

Pavlovic has obviously decided not to use the as an "unassigned" functionary. [sentence as published]

Pavlovic registered at the employment office's New Belgrade department where unemployed engineers register, which probably means that he is looking for work as a mechanical engineer (he also graduated from the economics faculty and received his doctorate at the faculty of political science in Belgrade).

Zagreb TV Commentary Cited on National 'Crisis'

LD131236 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2043 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—Society, this Yugoslav one of ours, is in an economic, moral, legal, and political crisis. These statements, formulated in the same or in some other order, are being expressed on all sides. It is as if we have become accustomed to living with them, a commentary on Zagreb television broadcast in tonight's news program says. For some, the absolute expression of the crisis also lies in the fact, for example, that in Zagreb one needs to set off at the crack of dawn for a liter of the most ordinary milk, and for most people in the fact that with an ever-increasing amount of worthless dinars in the pay packet one can cover fewer and fewer days of the month. The obvious expression of this is also in worker dissatisfaction—strikes in factories—but also on the streets, which are increasingly becoming the only place for true class dialogue.

When a society is in crisis for such a long time that an end to the crisis is not even in sight, it is inevitable that the leading force in society, and in our case the LCY, comes in for criticism. It has both a program, an organization, and has elaborated methods of operation. But in its own crisis, the interests of the class together with which, and in whose name, it leads social development,

at the same time in daily practice sells out to collaboration in numerous decisions and measures which undermine this same class. It is becoming increasingly clear that the battle for changes in society will not be won in the halls where plenums are held, at least while work is done as it has been previously done, the commentary says. Let us take as an example only the last plenum. On the first day many well-known statements — from exhortations to socialism, self-management, and the market economy, to warnings about the restoration of capitalism, were accompanied by very few new proposals. On the second day, on such a sensitive item as the establishment of the undisputed responsibility of a previously distinguished revolutionary, members of the organ in whose name it was indeed made, dispute for the first time the introductory address. On the following day those involved in the dispute are the subject of political allegations which are acquiring increasingly dangerous overtones.

The only logical standpoint heard at the plenum was that it is neither the FEC nor its numerous unsuccessful packages of measures, which the LC also supported, which is on the agenda of the resolution of the current crisis, but precisely the LC, its specific vanguard role and capability of being up to the times. Today there is a crisis in the search for a way out of the crisis, the placing of precisely the LC and its methods of work on the agenda of the LCY conference in March and frequent demands for reexamination of the work of the leadership, on which there should be a discussion at one of the following plenums, and this is quite understandable, the Zagreb television commentary stresses.

Mojsov Addresses Djevdjelija Aktiv on Economy

LD150008 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2004 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Skopje, 14 December (TANJUG)—Even when we are left without Tito, the whole world acknowledges our continuity, the clear policy of Yugoslavia, and that it still has in the world, in international organizations, in the United Nations, and particularly in the Nonaligned Movement, the prominent and active role of the initiator that it had at the beginning. This was stressed in the beginning of a speech to the political aktiv of Djevdjelija on 12 December by SFRY Presidency President Lazar Mojsov.

We are in southern Europe, in the Balkans, which were once called a powder keg. Precisely with the creation of the SFRY—on the principles of the anti-Fascist Council of the Liberation of Yugoslavia, supplemented by other internal transformations—the Balkans were removed from the agenda of world politics as a hotbed of tension, as a region for competition. With our central position in the Balkans today as well, when there exists a series of inherited contradictions, we are the primary stable point in this once restless corner of Europe and the world, said Mojsov.

I wish to confirm that Yugoslavia's historical role remains. This is the assessment made by history and by the present, and this is how it will be tomorrow as well. Yugoslavia as a factor of balance in Europe, as an initiator, and as a principle activist in the Nonaligned Movement, which is gaining increasing strength in world politics, remains in a firm international position recognized by all and which we will continue to follow.

Yugoslavia has until now rejected pressure of a political, ideological, or bloc nature—indeed of any nature, including military (when we were threatened with war in the north, the south, and the east). In this respect, no one now threatens us.

However, we have created the possibility of economic pressure, and above all of financial pressure on Yugoslavia. Now we wish to carry out certain new actions to remove the possibility of economic pressure. Mojsov warned that in the world a false picture had been created of us, which we ourselves have helped to create, starting with party organizations, various public statements, and particularly through media articles.

Mojsov then spoke in detail about the process of Yugoslavia incurring debts and repaying them. In the recent period, Yugoslavia incurred debts in order to develop at a desired speed. The 5-year plan adopted in the Federal Assembly in 1976 envisaged—and this was then adopted by all republican and provincial assemblies—that the country should take loans. Therefore, nobody else incurred debts for Yugoslavia but appropriate organs that make decisions about the country's economic policy. As early as 1979 our debt reached 19.5 billion dinars.

Speaking about why Yugoslavia could not repay debts, Mojsov said it was because loans had been used either to cover the deficit in the balance of payment or for investments that turned out to be failures. Apart from this, we spent in the old way more than we could afford. The Feni project alone used up \$603 million, without making a single dollar. Such things as Feni abound by the dozens in Yugoslavia. That is why we now have to ask that our debts be rescheduled. By exhausting the economy we have succeeded in not increasing the debt to convertible currency countries, the debt which now amounts to around \$18 billion.

Mojsov especially stressed that economic problems were fuelling nationalism, against which we were insufficiently fighting.

The Republic of Macedonia is one that has had comprehensive development in this kind of federation following its participation in the national liberation struggle. Now that solid economic development has been achieved for further development, a sense of apathy is emerging and there are thoughts that we are failing and that there is no development, which is not true at all. Such views distort the image of Yugoslavia, or Macedonia as a republic, which has most developed in every aspect.

Speaking about future actions, Mojsov pointed out that, first, it was necessary to successfully carry out to the end negotiations for rescheduling debts. All our creditors have understood the role of Yugoslavia in the world and are promising support and assistance. They are promising new investment in Yugoslavia on condition that we succeed in stabilizing our economy.

Second, Yugoslavia will work to further extend its economic ties with the world. Any isolationism leads to stagnation. We wish to open ourselves as much as possible to Europe, and to increase trade and other forms of economic cooperation with nonaligned and developing countries, and to find opportunities to found joint enterprises and take part in various development projects in these countries. Mojsov also spoke about Yugoslav actions as part of initiatives undertaken by debtor countries.

Speaking about relations with neighboring countries, Mojsov mostly dwelt on the initiative to convene a Balkan conference at the foreign ministers level. We expect that at this conference, at the end of February in Belgrade, as we are proposing, a basis of confidence and ideas for cooperation in the Balkans will be created. In view of the historical heritage, this can be done only step by step.

TANJUG Assesses Croatian Work Stoppages
*LD131434 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0137 GMT 13 Dec 87*

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—For half of the work stoppages recorded in the Socialist Republic of Croatia in 9 months of this year, it is simply not known to what extent the demands of workers made during these stoppages were fulfilled. This fact alone is evidently very illustrative of the activity of the trade unions, which recently have increasingly frequently become the target of increasingly critical remarks by the membership. The exacerbated economic problems, the fall in the living standard, and social tensions in society are first and foremost raising more and more the question of the confidence of the membership in the effectiveness of their own class organization. [passage omitted]

The trade unions evidently should, and it appears that increasingly they are making efforts to do so, respond to the challenge of the times in which social tension in society and worker dissatisfaction are growing. Thus in the SR of Croatia, in 10 months of this year, including the beginning of November as well, 315 work stoppages were registered, which is 70 percent more than in the whole of 1986.

Recently there has been increasing expression of new characteristics in these work stoppages, which are increasingly going beyond the bounds of "the factory walls."

Workers are not only seeking an increase (in their low earnings but are making increasingly sharp demands and questions about the level of personal incomes of officials in sociopolitical communities and organizations and the injustices which arise from this. [passage omitted])

An analysis of the strikes registered, the trade unions stress, shows that in 44 percent of cases work stoppages were "directed" toward state organs and in 25 percent of cases toward management organs and to internal relations in organizations of associated labor. Thus there is a growing awareness of the interconnection of the problems in their organizations with specific characteristics of the economic system and economic policy and generally in relations to technopolitical structures at the level of organizations of associated labor and society as a whole.

Most work stoppages, it is true, arose spontaneously as an expression of worker dissatisfaction, without having been prepared or announced in advance. The trade unions assess that in only 25 stoppages can some degree of organization be observed, a figure which has likewise increased compared to earlier periods.

However, available information about how the demands made by workers during work stoppages are met, provide many lessons, primarily for the trade unions themselves and for their activity.

According to figures mentioned by Bernardo Jurina, a member of the Council of the Croatian Trade Union Federation Presidium, in 20 percent of work stoppages which took place in 9 months of this year, the demands of workers were fulfilled and in a further 8 percent they were met only partially. At the same time in 24 percent of work stoppages the demands of workers were not fulfilled as there was no possibility for this. However, in almost 50 percent of work stoppages the trade unions simply do not know what in fact happened and in what way the demands of the dissatisfied workers were answered. This, in any event, is a very significant fact which nevertheless speaks unambiguously about the level of trade union movement in such sensitive questions.

In any case, it was also concluded, the question of why the trade unions do not know this must be given a reply at all levels in the trade union organization. And this, it seems, could then be a reply to many other questions about the effectiveness of trade union activity.

LC Body Condemns Effort To Discredit Ljubicic
AU141939 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] The Titovo Uzice Communal Committee Presidium announced at a press conference today that it denounces attempts of informal groups and individuals who have been planting disinformation with a view to discrediting Comrade Nikola Ljubicic, member of the SFRY Presidency.

The Presidium also denounced the tendentiousness of Dragoljub Golubovic's articles in the last issue of the periodical DUGA, which are an attempt at making the work of authorities more difficult and reducing some people's responsibility for illegal appropriation of social property in the Jelova Gora Work Organization. The tendentious publishing of untruths in DUGA can have unforeseeable consequences in this community at a time when great efforts are being invested in implementing conclusions of the eighth session of the LC Central Committee of Serbia, the announcement reads. Therefore, all necessary measures will be taken to find out who is planting disinformation and to establish his political and criminal responsibility.

Slovene Assembly on Development Resolutions
LD142334 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—Delegates of all three chambers of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia today assessed that an agreement could be reached on the proposed federal resolution only on condition that the laws on foreign exchange are amended in an appropriate way, a way out of the intervention measures is established, the readiness for a speedier liberalization of prices is clearly stated, and if, as it was said, the constitutional role and responsibility of the republics and provinces in determining their development policies, in particular in the area of social activities, that is in meeting joint and general needs, is respected.

The delegates gave support to the proposal by the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference and their working bodies that the Assembly should take a final stand after a report by its delegation on the course of the harmonization of this document. A discussion that was conducted on the resolution of the Slovene development in 1988 will be concluded at the next session of the Assembly at the end of this month, for which time the republican Executive Council should prepare a proposed republican resolution, but this should be after the federal one has been adopted.

It was said that the economic and development policies for the next year should be drafted in such a way so that they make it possible to halt negative trends in social and economic developments, gradually eliminate hotbeds of inflation and instability, and create conditions for better economic activity in all environments and at all levels. The basis for realizing such an economic and development policy, it was stressed, must be an aggressive exports policy and an increase of foreign exchange inflow. As it was said today in the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, this demands a change from an administrative and intervention to a market-planning economic and development policy.

According to Milivoj Samar, president of the Republican Committee for Social Planning, the draft federal resolution and its accompanying documents proposed by the FEC, in

their most important sections, and in particular in the sections on foreign exchange liquidity, market, prices, and the policy of distribution, do not indicate ways out from the crisis, rather, it was said, many of the proposed elements could even deepen the existing instability.

This relates particularly to directives in the draft resolution that have not been carried out. Samar noted in particular that in adopting the resolution, existing constitutional and legal regulations and authority should be taken as a starting point, the function of the federation should be respected, as should the role of the republics and provinces in deciding on a common economic policy. In the resolution it is essential to decide on an overall economic policy, which next year without doubt falls into two periods. For the second period of next year the resolution must establish paths and a way out of the intervention phase, with the clear demand that illogical points in the intervention measures should be removed as we go along. The envisaged 4-year plan of liberalizing prices cannot be agreed to since it would mean maintaining an administrative means of forming relations, and the arbitrary determination of prices of producers as rules, and not as a reflection of the results of economic activity in the market.

In a discussion of the development of Slovenia in 1988 in the Slovene Assembly it was assessed that the situation following the intervention measures calls for a new assessment of material circumstances. The first calculations which take into account the effects of the intervention measures indicate that the situation in a part of industry and in some other areas will become exceptionally more strained. It may also be expected that, encouraged by the intervention measures, the consequences of many years of technological, cadre, and organizational lagging behind in many organizations of associated labor will show themselves with full intensity.

If we only take as our starting point the possible situation following the intervention measures we can expect an essential reduction in the available social product in Slovenia next year, and decisions on the possible volume of resources will determine the policy of distribution on the republican level, the dynamics of realizing development policy, overall relations between resources for personal incomes, and the fulfillment of general and common needs.

Delegates were also acquainted today with assessments on the effects of the intervention measures. The implementation of the anti-inflation program in practice, it was said, confirms the assessment made previously by the republican executive council that the program is autarchic in its content and oriented toward redistribution and "technically very incompletely prepared." In particular the economically illogical points that preface many intervention measures and the need for them to be permanently changed and supplemented vitally weakens some of their positive elements. Assessments in Slovenia indicate basic changes in the income position of branches and activities in the economy, and the latest administrative measures have not removed price disparities, they have only moved them to other parts of the economy, above all to manufacturing branches of industry who are the most important potential proponents of the process of restructuring in the republic. On the contrary, new disparities have even been created, deeper and more contradictory ones, and from industry there are warnings that in many branches a reduction or even a cessation of production will come about. For this reason we must call on the FEC to monitor the effects of the measures as they develop and by supplementing and changing them to prevent such consequences arising.

The Slovene Assembly gave its agreement on the draft law on the total volume of budget expenditure for the federation for next year. [passage omitted]